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Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University**

**WESTERN UKRAINIAN LANDS
IN THE FIRST POSTWAR YEARS
(1944–1953):
EVERYDAY LIFE**

Collective Monograph



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The proposed monograph presents some aspects of everyday life of the population of Western Ukraine in the first postwar years. In particular, the daily life of peasants, teachers, schoolchildren, Ukrainian insurgents and underground, displaced and deported persons, etc. Separate studies are devoted to the historiography of the problem.

The research can be useful for scientists, teachers, students, pupils, and all who are interested in the history of Ukraine of the twentieth century.

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© *Mykola Haliv, Oleksandra Sviontyk, Grand Mykhail, Shemenda Khrystyna, Vasyl Ilnytskyi, Liliia Hrynyk, Nataliya Kantor, Natalia Ilnytska, Oleh Maliarchuk, Oleksandr Dobrzhanskyi, Lyudmyla Strilchuk, Oksana Kalishchuk, Yurii Stetsyk, Roman Dydyk* 2023

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**Міністерство освіти і науки України
Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет
імені Івана Франка**

**ЗАХІДНІ ЗЕМЛІ УКРАЇНИ
У ПЕРШІ ПІСЛЯВОЄННІ РОКИ
(1944–1953):
ПОВСЯКДЕННЕ ЖИТТЯ**

Колективна монографія



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Західні землі України у перші післявоєнні роки (1944–1953): повсякденне життя: колективна монографія / відп. ред. В. Ільницький. Riga, Latvia: "Baltija Publishing", 2023. 128 с.

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У запропонованій монографії представлено окремі аспекти повсякденного життя населення Західної України у перші повоєнні роки. Зокрема, висвітлено щоденне життя селянства, учителів, школярів, українських повстанців та підпільників, переселених і депортованих осіб тощо. Окремі студії присвячені історіографії проблеми.

Представлені у монографії дослідження можуть бути корисними науковцям, учителям, студентам, учням та усім, хто цікавиться питаннями історії України ХХ ст.

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Л. Гриник, Н. Кантор, Н. Ільницька, О. Малярчук, О. Добржанський,
Л. Стрільчук, О. Каліщук, Ю. Стецик, Р. Дидик, 2023*

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“IT BECAME BAD TO LIVE”: LIVING AND WORKING CONDITIONS OF WORKERS IN THE DROHOBYCH REGION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR (1945–1950)

In the first post-war years, the population of the western regions of Ukraine found themselves in the bifurcation conditions of the Soviet socio-political, economic, cultural, and spiritual transformations, which affected the everyday life of every person. Particular attention is drawn to everyday workers, who were declared a progressive class and builders of a new social order. It should be noted that the workforce of Drohobych region was a fairly large social group even before the Second World War, and in the post-war years it grew not only thanks to residents but also workers who arrived from other regions of Ukraine and the USSR. Elucidation of everyday aspects of the life of workers in Drohobych region requires a separate study because of the emergence of new historical sources and scientific publications.

L. Kovpak¹, O. Kolyastruk², O. Yankovska³, O. Isaykina⁴ made a significant contribution and study of the post-war life of the population of Ukraine, in particular the working class. The everyday life of the population of the Drohobych region of the USSR (1944–1953) was analyzed by R. Popp⁵, M. Haliv, N. Pnytska, M. Grand¹, O. Sviontyk²,

¹ Ковпак Л. Соціально-побутові умови життя населення України в другій половині ХХ ст. (1945–2000 рр.). Київ, 2003. 250 с.

² Коляструк О. А. Повсякденне життя українського суспільства у перші повоєнні роки (1944–1947). *Наукові записки Вінницького державного педагогічного університету імені Михайла Коцюбинського. Серія: Історія*. 2012. Вип. 20. С. 131–136.

³ Повоєнна Україна: нариси соціальної історії (друга половина 1940-х – середина 1950-х рр.). У 2-х книгах, 3-х частинах. Кн. 1, ч. 1–2 / Відп. ред. В.М. Даниленко. Київ: Інститут історії України НАН України, 2010. С. 293–338.

⁴ Ісайкіна О. Побут та дозвілля міського населення України в повоєнний період (1945–1955 рр.): автореф. дис. ...канд. іст. наук. Київ, 2006. 20 с.; Ісайкіна О. Побут міського населення України в повоєнний період (1945–1955 рр.). *Історія повсякденності: теорія і практика. Матеріали Всеукраїнської наукової конференції (Переяслав-Хмельницький, 14–15 травня 2010 р.)*. Переяслав-Хмельницький, 2010. С. 181–184.

⁵ Попп Р. Соціальні трансформації в Дрогобицькій області (1944–1953 рр.). *Актуальні питання гуманітарних наук: міжвузівський збірник наукових праць молодих вчених Дрогобицького державного педагогічного*

V. Ilytskyi, L. Hrynyk, and N. Kantor³, etc. Some aspects of everyday work are highlighted in their works. The analysis of the latest publications proved that there is currently no study devoted exclusively to the issues of everyday life of the workers of the Drohobych region in the first post-war years.

The purpose of the article is to present the results of a study of the daily life of workers in Drohobych region of the USSR in 1945–1950.

A significant part of the workforce of Drohobych region was concentrated in the cities of Drohobych and Boryslav, known for their oil production and oil refining enterprises. The number of workers gradually increased. If in 1946 there were 20,472 workers in Drohobych region, then in 1950 there were 25,032 workers in industrial enterprises, not including workers in industrial cooperatives, industrial enterprises of collective farms, and part of small enterprises⁴. In the summer of 1946, approximately 4,000 workers worked at Boryslav's enterprises alone⁵. In addition to Drohobych and Boryslav, smaller indus-

університету імені Івана Франка. Дрогобич: Посвіт, 2016. Вип. 16. С. 94–103; Попп Р. Газета “Радянське слово” як джерело вивчення повсякдення населення Дрогобиччини (за матеріалами 1950 року). *Дрогобицький краєзнавчий збірник*. 2017. Вип. XIX–XX. С. 473–481.

¹ Галів М., Ільницька Н., Гранд М. Повсякденне життя населення Дрогобиччини (1947–1948): нове документальне свідчення. *Західні землі України у перші післявоєнні роки (1944–1953): повсякденне життя: колективна монографія* / відп. ред. В. Ільницький. Riga, Latvia: “Baltija Publishing”, 2022. С. 183–242.

² Свійонтик О., Галів М. Повсякденні аспекти шкільництва на Дрогобиччині в 1947–1948 р.: нове документальне свідчення. *Актуальні питання гуманітарних наук: міжвузівський збірник наукових праць молодих вчених Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка*. 2021. Вип. 44. Том 1. С. 4–12.

³ Ільницький В., Гриник Л., Кантор Н. Повстанське повсякдення у воєнних реаліях (1944–1950-і рр.): вибрані питання. *Західні землі України у перші післявоєнні роки (1944–1953): повсякденне життя: колективна монографія* / відп. ред. В. Ільницький. Riga, Latvia: “Baltija Publishing”, 2022. С. 94–115.

⁴ Народне господарство Дрогобицької області. Статистичний збірник. Дрогобич: Дрогобицьке обласне видавництво, 1956. С. 15; Попп Р. Соціальні трансформації в Дрогобицькій області... С. 96.

⁵ Галузевий державний архів Служби безпеки України (далі – ГДА СБУ). Ф. 13. Т. 78. Арк. 308.

trial enterprises operated in Stryi, Sambir, Khodoriv, the villages of Stebnyk, Skhidnytsia, Medenychi, Verkhne Sinyovydne, and others.

Workers spent a significant part of their daily time at enterprises. In the first post-war years, the 8-hour working day was returned, however, in addition, mandatory public works of 50 hours were introduced per year (for example, during road repairs on Sundays). “Labor discipline” remained strict. The worker was arrested for the slightest sabotage or accident, caused by the lack of tools. Arrest and court was imposed for the absence from work and third delay. After the first delay, 25% of the worker’s wages were deducted for seven months, after the second – 50%, and after the third, the worker was threatened with three years in prison. Delay was considered untimely (more than 10 minutes) arrival at the place of work¹.

Workers’ wages depended, first of all, on production standards. In April 1946, the wages of oil industry workers were increased. First of all, the salary increase covered the drillers (turners) who worked at the oil production enterprises of Boryslav. Other workers, for example, stokers, were transferred to a lower tariff group (from the fifth to the fourth). The salary increase for some categories of employees took place at the expense of others. On this occasion, dissatisfaction with such changes was openly expressed among the workers of Boryslav. The managers of the enterprises obliged the foremen and heads of the workshops to conduct persuasive conversations with the workers, during which they emphasized that even the workers of the lower tariff groups received a wage increase of 43 kopecks per day². Of course, it was kept silent that such an increase for workers in the fourth tariff group was lower than for workers in the fifth tariff group. At the same time, turners, who previously received 20 rubles/day, now received 24 rubles, their assistants – respectively, 18 rubles/day, and now – 21 rubles/day³.

It should be noted that not all foremen agreed with the role of propagandists and suggested that the directorates of oil industries convene a general meeting of workers and explain the situation with unfair wages. To this, Voyarchuk, the supervisor of the II oil industry, said: “We don’t need such foremen who are afraid to explain the law to their

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 127.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Т. 78. Арк. 308.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Т. 78. Арк. 308.

workers. Let them not think that they are such foremen, and that there is no one to stand in for them or there will be no one. We... do not value people with diplomas, but those who follow the [Soviet] government. We can also do it by putting an ordinary worker in your place, and you in menial work”¹.

Production norms differed depending on the industry and the specifics of the work of enterprises. For example, at the beginning of 1948, the construction of an 18–20-kilometer long water supply began in the village Rybnyk of Pidbuzh district to the city of Boryslav. Local workers from nearby villages (30–40 people) worked on the construction site, digging trenches. For 1 m³ of soft earth dug up, the worker received 3.60 rubles, for 1 m³ of hard earth – 5.60 rubles².

In general, norms were fulfilled by 90–100%, although there were also cases of insufficient fulfillment (by 50–60%). The worker’s salary depended on the fulfillment of the norms. At the same time, the workers were not interested in exceeding the norms, because a norm fulfilled by 102 or 104% was already considered 100% the next month, so the norms increased in this way. For non-compliance with the norm, the worker, of course, could not receive a full salary. At many enterprises, a system of monetary punishment for non-compliance with norms was established. Thus, at the beginning of the second quarter of 1948, the worker of oil industry No. 5 (Skhidnytsia) Mykola Fedyshyn did not fulfill the monthly norm, for which he had to pay 58 rubles. Ozokerite mine worker Mykhailo Vavryk had to pay 100 rubles in July 1948 for not fulfilling the monthly norm from his salary. In August of the same year, the workers Biryukov, Ivan Grim, and Oleksa Kostiv also lost part of their wages for non-compliance with the norms. In the ozokerite mine No. 1, the workers of three teams (more than 30 people), who worked in three shifts underground, in December 1947, due to unfulfilled standards, received only 3 rubles monthly salary. At the same time, the foremen, who had a stable monthly rate, received their salary in full³.

In some places, high standards of production and strict requirements for their fulfillment became the reasons for the dismissal of workers. For example, on August 27, 1948, Shura Dudynenko, a work-

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Т. 78. Арк. 308.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 126.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 127.

er-axe-cutter in the ozokerite mines, a Ukrainian from eastern Ukrainian lands, quit her job because she could not meet the standards and received a small salary, which wasn't enough for living¹. High production standards became the cause of accidents at work. Thus, in early August 1948, Ivan Melnyk, a miner of ozokerite mine No. 1, who signed an obligation to exceed the norm (140%), died due to a rock collapse. Trying to fulfill his obligations, he did not properly take care of the “stamping” of the mine, which led to the tragedy².

Wages of workers in Drohobych region were correlated with all-Ukrainian indicators. It is known that in the second half of the 1940s, workers in the eastern regions of Ukraine received the following wages: workers at a gypsum plant – 258 rubles, a chemical factory – 307 rubles, an asphalt-concrete plant – 802 rubles, a tole plant – 317 rubles³. In general, the workers of large enterprises in the Drohobych region received from 350 to 900 rubles (as of 1948)⁴. The wages (both nominal and real) were lower for workers of smaller oil enterprises (for example, oil mine workers in the village of Urych in 1946 received from 200 to 600 rubles per month) and smaller plants and factories (bakery workers in Boryslav) in the same year, they received 150–700 rubles per month⁵. In 1950, according to reports in the newspaper “Soviet Word”, workers and engineering and technical personnel of oil refineries in Drohobych received 1,200 – 1,600 rubles monthly salary⁶.

It should be noted that foremen and heads of workshops received salary increases and bonuses for the production success of the workers they managed. 20–30% of a worker's salary was assigned to pay taxes and deductions. So, in 1948, income tax – 13%, singles tax – 6%, trade union contribution – 1%, and Soviet Red Cross – 12 rubles for a year. Childless workers paid 150 rubles per year, parents of one child – 100 rubles, parents of two children – 50 rubles. Each worker, like any other worker, had to sign a government loan once a year in the amount of his monthly salary, which was then deducted from his salary every month.

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 127.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 127.

³ Ісайкіна О. Побут міського населення України в повоєнний період (1945–1955 рр.)... С. 182.

⁴ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 128.

⁵ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Т. 78. Арк. 272, 308.

⁶ Попп Р. Газета “Радянське слово”... С. 477.

In addition to these deductions, every worker had to subscribe to republican, regional, and city newspapers. A subscription to a republican newspaper cost 60 rubles, a regional newspaper 30 rubles, and a city newspaper 15 rubles. Therefore, the worker who was charged 450 rubles monthly salary, he received 300–320 rubles “on hand”¹.

There have been cases of workers refusing to sign a state loan. Thus, in the first half of May 1948, at the mines No. 1 and No. 2 of the Ukrozokerit trust in the city of Boryslav, the worker-breaker Petro Rishin (a Russian) refused to sign a loan. He was, of course, punished: he was transferred to “capital work” (repair of the mine, namely, the construction of new and repair of the old cisterns of the mine). Among themselves, the workers called such work “punitive” labor, considering it the worst and most dangerous, because it was necessary to work “in the air”, that is, to perform operations while tied with a rope and without support under the feet².

The worker’s salary in the first post-war years was insufficient to meet his primary needs. Workers who had families and, in addition to themselves, supported 2–3 people, for their monthly salary in 1948 could buy 1 kg of potatoes (120 rubles), 10 kg of flour (150 rubles), 1 kg of fat (60 rubles), 15 kg of bread (45 rubles). Workers who received lower wages or who did not comply with the norms found themselves in a very difficult position. In public shops, where there were always queues, in addition to bread, sugar, flour, and, occasionally, manufactured goods, the following goods could be purchased: butter – 60 rubles; beef – 15 rubles; pork – 65 rubles; cigarettes – 10–30 rubles for 100 pieces; a pack of cigarettes – 5–30 rubles; vodka – 113 rubles/l.; wine – 45–105 rubles/l.; toothpaste – 5 rubles. Sometimes you could buy a hat – 60 rubles, in very rare cases – work boots – 75–100 rubles, and a razor – 92 rubles³.

Since it is not always possible to get enough goods in state stores, workers often had to use the services of the “black market”, where the cost of products was sometimes two or three times higher. Thus, 1 kg of bread in state-owned stores costs 3 rubles, on the other hand, on the “black market” – 10 rubles, 1 kg of flour, respectively, 6.5–15 rubles and 10–30 rubles. The suit cost 1,000–1,200 rubles, a military uniform

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 128.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 131.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 129.

– 300–1,500 rubles, and rubber boots – 350 rubles¹. It is clear that under such conditions, the worker's consumer basket was quite modest and limited mainly to the food component. The latter was also quite monotonous and consisted, for the most part, of potatoes and bread.

The workers who lived in the cities were forced to engage in small crafts and produce various things, which later the members of their families tried to exchange for food products in the villages. They also had to sell second-hand things, in particular from their wardrobes. Often workers and members of their families were forced to engage in speculation. The workers who lived in the villages were homesteaded. However, they were obliged to pay taxes. One of the workers of the potash plant in the village of Stebnyk owned 0.5 ha of land, for which he paid 150 kg of grain per year, 140 rubles land tax, 75 rubles state insurance for the house, 36 kg of meat². Therefore, the assertions of historians that the living conditions of rural workers were somewhat better than those of urban workers do not seem to be entirely correct.

Until 1947, a card system operated in the USSR, which for workers was a certain guarantee of stable receipt of at least a minimum amount of goods. Workers could receive up to 15 kg of bread per month for the cards. There were working cards for the 1st and 2nd categories, as well as special cards for employees, children, and dependents. The rates for issuing products by card, as well as the prices for these products, were strictly fixed. For example, the daily rate of bread issuance for the 1st category work card was 800 g, and for the 2nd category – 600 g³.

However, the card system caused complaints among the workers. Thus, according to the reports of the Soviet special agencies, which analyzed the letters sent by post, the workers of Boryslav complained in 1946: "...It became bad to live, it was expensive to live, and there was a big reduction, many canteens were closed. There is only one bread factory, there is no commercial bread at all, and a loaf of bread

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 129.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 130.

³ Вронська Т. Дія карткової системи в Україні у воєнні та повоєнні роки (1941–1947). *Сторінки воєнної історії*. 1998. Вип. 2. С. 166; Ісайкіна О. Побут міського населення України в повоєнний період (1945–1955 рр.)... С. 181.; Коляструк О. Повсякденне життя українського суспільства... С. 132.

on the market became 35 rubles. [...] There are no bread cards, it is difficult to live...”¹.

After the abolition of the card system and the implementation of monetary reform, the supply of bread decreased somewhat, so it was difficult to obtain it. So, until 1947, 13.5 tons of bread was brought to oil field No. 9 (Boryslav–Ratochyn), where approximately 600 workers worked, every day, which was distributed to workers for cards. After the cancellation of the card system, only 100 kg of bread was brought to the oil industry. A similar situation occurred in the village Skhidnytsia, on the territory of which oil field No. 5 operated. The village, which had 2,572 inhabitants, including 793 workers, was supplied with 15–18 tons of bread daily. After the cancellation of the card system, 7 cents of bread per day was delivered to Skhidnytsia. This bread, as before, was of low quality (“leavened, black with various impurities, in a word, impossible to eat”), but its purchase became problematic: there were long queues at the state store, which were controlled by the police².

The Stakhanov movement became an integral element of the life of the workers of Drogobych region in the first post-war years. It was organized at each enterprise by order “from the mountain”, and the number of “labor strikers” was determined for each enterprise. Party cells were particularly active in this direction, and partorgs were engaged in holding rallies and meetings of workers, where reports were made about the necessity and tasks of the Stakhanov movement in the fourth five-year plan. To demonstrate success in the formation of “Stakhanovites”, among them were included those who met and exceeded the norm, or identified workers (mainly Komsomol members, candidates for members or members of the Communist Party), to whom the production successes of the entire brigade were deliberately attributed in order to create the image of a “Stakhanovite”. The names of those who fulfilled the norms by more than 150% were placed on “boards of honor”, announced during rallies. The brigade that fulfilled the norm

¹ Андрющенко Е., Каганов Ю. Матеріально-побутові умови життя мешканців Західної України у спецвідомленнях радянських органів державної безпеки (1946–1953). *Західні землі України у перші післявоєнні роки (1944– 1953): повсякденне життя: колективна монографія* / відп. ред. В. Ільницький. Riga, Latvia: “Baltija Publishing”, 2022. С. 343.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 130.

by 180% received a red flag as a reward, and for fulfilling the norm by 200% – a red star. “Stakhanovites” were rewarded with cash prizes, but not with food products¹.

It is known that at the Boryslav oil field, there was a practice of adding up the developed standards to the foremen. Each month, 1% of the produced oil, provided the brigade fully met the norm, was left for the brigade’s “own use”, and later this balance was added to the next produced norm and recorded on the foreman’s account. So the brigadier declared himself a “Stakhanovite”. In this way, in March 1948, Dmytro Shteber, operator of oil industry No. 5, became a “Stakhanovite”. He was awarded a transitional red flag, but two months later this award was taken away since the worker was never able to fully fulfill the norm on his own. Another practice existed at the Boryslav ozokerite mines: the administration did not credit one cartload of oil to the workers who loaded it. This oil was added to the production success of 15 “Stakhanovites” of the enterprise, most of whom were Russians and also members of the Communist Party².

One of the forms of exploitation of workers was “socialist competitions”, which were introduced at all enterprises in individual, group (between brigades, shops, departments), and branch (between plants, factories, artillery, etc.) forms. At each Boryslav–Skhidnytsya oil field, a competition was held between teams, and the winners were awarded the red flag of the oil industry and the flag of the trade union. Note that for the purchase of a red flag at each oil field, the workers paid 1,200 rubles, and for the purchase of a trade union flag – 1,500 rubles. In addition, the social struggle also unfolded between oil industries within the framework of the association “Ukrnafta”³.

The living conditions of workers in the first post-war years remained extremely poor. Workers were forced to sell their clothes and household items to survive. Workers sent from the eastern regions of Ukraine, as well as immigrants from Poland, found themselves in a particularly difficult situation. They did not have their own homes, they lived in houses converted into dormitories and special camps. “Workers... it often happens that they go to work without breakfast, and take a few raw potatoes for lunch, which they then bake for them-

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 130–131.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 131.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 131.

selves during lunchtime at a factory or other enterprise. This happened in the ozokerite mines during the whole of 1948. Such cases are also more common among workers from cities who do not have homestead land. The most important food for workers is potatoes, and migrant workers also have Bolshevik black bread”¹, – said the report of the OUN underground about the situation in the cities of Drohobych region.

Social security of workers remained at a low level. There were cases when workers were dismissed from work as a result of deteriorating health conditions or receiving a serious injury at work. Thus, in the second quarter of 1948, a laborer, Yuriy Kobylnyk, who worked at the mines of the Ukrozokerit trust in Boryslav, was dismissed and suffered a hernia. He was assisted in the amount of a third of a month’s salary but was deprived of his job due to unfitness. On the other hand, there were cases involving disabled people to work, who were paid meager amounts (for example, worker Rudyk, who worked as a digger on the construction of the Rybnyk-Boryslav water pipeline, was a war invalid – he had no fingers on one of his hands). Through trade union organizations, some workers were allowed to “improve their health” in sanatoriums, but not in Truskavets, where representatives of the Soviet and party nomenclature, officials, and officers rested, but in the village of Rozdoliv in Stanislav region. For 12 days of rest, the worker paid 85 rubles, and the rest was paid by the trade union. However, the conditions in this sanatorium were essentially camp-like. Vacationers were expected to have poor food and additional work in the auxiliary farm of the sanatorium².

There were also problems in the organization of pension provisions for workers. Sometimes workers of retirement age, who were found to be unable to work, were offered maintenance in a “home for the elderly” instead of a pension. For example, Oleksiy Savchyn, a worker at the Skhidnytsya oil field No. 4, who turned 65 years old and lost his arm during work, received such an offer. He had a wife and six children to support, but the worker was fired. However, he refused “full support” in the “home of the elderly”, stating that he did not want to die of hunger there³.

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 131–132.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 130.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 132.

In the first post-war years, the daily life of workers in the western lands of Ukraine included various forms of cultural and educational work, with which party, Komsomol, and trade union organizations tried to “reach the working masses” for ideological influence. At each enterprise, which had more than 500 employees, clubs with libraries were formed. In the clubs two or three times a month, film screenings were arranged for the workers, as well as theatrical performances of amateur artists. Once or twice a week, parties with dances were arranged. Every week in each brigade, workshop, or section, reports on ideological and political topics were held. Libraries were usually quite small, numbering from 30 to 60 books¹. According to the data of the OUN underground, workers did not show interest in libraries, movie screenings, and dance evenings (activeness in these forms of recreation was mainly shown by young people who came from the eastern regions of Ukraine)².

The political and mass work of the relevant bodies concerning the workers was not successful either. Every week, and sometimes twice a week, meetings and lectures on political topics were held at enterprises, among which international reviews, the history of the CPSU(b), and interpretation of the “classics of Marxism-Leninism” dominated. Workers were gathered for such meetings and gatherings by coercion and order. It happened that during the rallies they organized a roll call of workers, thereby identifying those who were absent. The latter was expected to be reprimanded by the management³. In one of the documents of the underground of the OUN in Drohobych region in 1948, it was stated: “Workers at rallies or meetings are not interested, do not listen to Bolshevik agitations, but sigh sleepily, thinking to go home as soon as possible. Bolshevik propaganda is not accepted among the working class, except for Komsomol members who joined the Kom-somol”⁴.

It is from the documents of the OUN that we learn about the political attitudes among the workers of Boryslav and Drohobych. Accord-

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 132.

² Галів М., Ільницька Н., Гранд М. Повсякденне життя населення Дрогобиччини... С. 233.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 132.

⁴ Галів М., Ільницька Н., Гранд М. Повсякденне життя населення Дрогобиччини... С. 233–234.

ing to local OUN leaders, the workers secretly hated the existing regime, hoped for a world conflict between the USA and Great Britain on the one hand and the USSR on the other, and sought to get rid of excessive exploitation. In conversations among themselves, the workers often expressed assumptions about the beginning of the war of Western countries against the USSR. The OUN leaders had the impression that the workers were sympathetic to the Ukrainian nationalist movement. In the report of the leader of Drohobych supra-district branch of the OUN, Volodymyr Bosak (“Chornota”, “Zenko”, “Virlan”, “145-B”), the revolutionary mood of the workers of Drohobych was somewhat optimistically assessed: “They are aware that liberation can come only when the Ukrainian nation will have a strong revolutionary organization under the conditions of war. The working class is twice as revolutionary as the peasants. And that is why now they look at our revolutionary struggle with the future of their liberation from unheard-of forms of exploitation. On the lips of the workers, there is always talk about our revolutionary struggle, and the news of the feat raises their spirits”¹.

Therefore, the daily life of workers in the first post-war years was characterized by extremely unsatisfactory material and social conditions. The card system, which operated until 1947, did not take into account even the minimum needs of workers who supported families of several people. Wages ranged from 200 to 900 rubles, however, 20–30% of workers’ cash income was used to pay taxes, state loans, pay fines for non-compliance with production standards, etc. The worker’s consumer basket was limited mainly to potatoes and poor-quality brown bread. The living conditions of urban workers were poor, and the situation of rural workers turned out to be somewhat better. However, the latter, owning land plots, had to pay taxes in goods and money. Labor was the object of indoctrination efforts of the Communist Party, Komsomol, and trade union organizations. The policies of the Soviet regime towards workers usually drew condemnation from the workers, some of whom sympathized with the Ukrainian liberation movement, but never dared to openly protest.

Mykola Haliv, Oleksandra Sviontyk

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 74. Арк. 133.

THE STUDENT COMMUNITY OF UKRAINE'S WESTERN REGIONS IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (1945 TO 1953): STUDY AND LIVING CONDITIONS

As of the present time, the topic of college studentry of the Western Oblasts (Provinces) of post-WW2 Ukraine can no longer be referred to as uncharted waters. Numerical data, ethnic and social composition, level of education, political and cultural interests as well as certain aspects of this social group's quotidian life have already been the focus of multiple researchers, including O. Haran¹, S. Svorak², R. Heneha³, R. Kovaliuk⁴, R. Popp⁵, T. Marusyk⁶, M. Haliv, O. Sviontyk,

¹ Гарань О.В. Проблеми формування національних кадрів у західних областях УРСР у другій половині 40-х – 50-х роках. *Український історичний журнал*. 1989. № 10. С. 55–65.

² Сворак С.Д. Молодь в авангарді національно-визвольної війни в західному регіоні України (1944–1953). *Визвольний шлях*. 1998. Кн. 9 (606). С. 1025–1152.

³ Генега Р. Студентський рух опору у Львові (1944–1953). *Вісник Львівського національного університету. Серія історична*. Львів, 2002. Вип. 37. Ч. 2. С. 205–223.

⁴ Ковалюк Р. Український студентський рух на західних землях ХІХ – ХХ століття. Львів, 2001. 420 с.

⁵ Пopp Р. Студентство Львова в 1944–1953 роках (історико-соціологічний аспект). *Проблеми гуманітарних наук: Наукові записки ДДПУ імені Івана Франка. Історія*. Дрогобич: Вимір, 2007. Випуск двадцятий. С. 76–86; Пopp Р. П. Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка у перші повоєнні роки (1944–1953). *Проблеми гуманітарних наук. Наукові записки ДДПУ імені Івана Франка. Історія*. 2009. Випуск двадцять четвертий. С. 120–135; Пopp Р. Студентство Дрогобицького учительського інституту в перші повоєнні роки (1944–1953). *Молодіжна політика: проблеми і перспективи. Збірник наукових праць*. Дрогобич: РВВ ДДПУ імені Івана Франка, 2011. Вип. 2. С. 99–104; Пopp Р. Історичний факультет Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка в перші повоєнні роки (1944–1953). *Східноєвропейський історичний вісник*. 2018. Вип. 6. С. 189–196.

⁶ Марусик Т. В. Студентство Буковини під тиском сталінських репресій (1945–1950-ті роки). *З архівів ВУЧК-ГПУ-НКВД-КГБ*. Київ, 1999. № 1/2 (10/11). С. 457–468.

M. Yushchyshyn¹, V. Ilnytskyi, N. Kantor, T. Batiuk² and others. Having taken their prior research into due account, we hereby aim to study the significant elements of quotidian life of the students' community in Western Ukraine—that is, what their accommodation and learning infrastructure looked like in 1945–1953. It should also be noted that this period (coinciding with the last years of Stalin's reign) was marked by large-scale social transformations, as Communist authorities were taking measures to transform West Ukrainian residents into 'generic Soviet citizens'. In our present research, we have focused on students of teacher-training and pedagogical institutes in the cities of Lviv, Drohobych, and Chernivtsi.

In view of the persisting war conditions, West Ukrainian colleges mostly commenced their academic year in October or November. The community of Lviv Pedagogic Institute, for instance, was back on campus on October 16th, 1944 (only its Faculty of Physics and Mathematics had been up and running since October 1st of the same year)³. Drohobych Teachers Training Institute resumed its operation in November⁴.

The process of enrolment of the first batch of post-war students was underway for the ensuing five or six months. Higher education institutions were operating as prescribed by their currently acting curricula and syllabi. The curricula were stipulated by standards adopted across the entire Soviet Union whereas specific syllabi were outlined and

¹ Галів М., Свійонтик О., Ющишин М. Освітній процес у Львівському державному педагогічному інституті (1944–1953): організаційні та змістові аспекти. *Молодь і ринок: щомісячний науково-педагогічний журнал*. 2021. № 10 (196). С. 11–18; Свійонтик О., Галів М. Документ з історії повсякденного життя Чернівецького державного учительського інституту (1948 р.): археографічний аналіз. *Молодь і ринок: щомісячний науково-педагогічний журнал*. 2021. № 2 (188). С. 16–21.

² Ільницький В., Кантор Н., Батюк Т. Повсякденне життя у Дрогобицькому учительському інституті: новий документ до історії (1946–1949). *Проблеми гуманітарних наук: збірник наукових праць Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка. Серія Історія*. 2021. Вип. 6/48. С. 342–364.

³ Державний архів Львівської області (далі – ДАЛО). Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 31. Арк. 1.

⁴ Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка. Дрогобиць–Львів: РВВ ДДПУ імені Івана Франка, 2001. С. 21.

approved by the People's Commissariat (Ministry) for Education of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Institutes did not have any syllabi updated in the current year, hence they mostly referred to syllabi that had been published and approved before the German invasion in 1941. The only updated syllabus was the syllabus for the academic subject entitled *Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism*. The situation with academic textbooks was totally unsatisfactory. There were not enough guidebooks nor reference books in the institute's libraries and classrooms. Case in point: Lviv Pedagogic Institute where, for certain academic subjects—such as Old Slavic Language, Folk Lore, Western European Literature, General Linguistics, Dialectic Materialism, Historical Materialism, and Political Economics—there was not a single textbook to accommodate the teaching and learning process whereas for some of the other academic disciplines such as History of the Peoples of the Soviet Union, Psychology, and Literary History, there was only one or two copies available. The situation with academic textbooks was somewhat better at the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics where fewer students were enrolled, hence guidebooks and reference books were apparently not lacking¹.

The 1945 saw the arrival of new syllabi for Pedagogics, Psychology, History of Pedagogics, Pedagogic Practice, as well as syllabi for the subjects belonging to the realm of Physics and Mathematics. As of the academic year 1946–1947, only the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics was fully stocked with all the necessary guidebooks and textbooks. By and large, Lviv Pedagogic Institute had only 50% of the textbooks it needed in its library stocks². Similar situation could be observed in other institutes, including Drohobych Institute. Due to the lack of textbooks, Kharkiv University sent three thousand books over to the Drohobych Teachers Training Institute. That said, there were still not enough textbooks on Linguistics, Pedagogics, Psychology, Mathematics, Draughtsmanship, General Physics, History of the Middle Ages, History of the Soviet Union, and Ukrainian Literature³. Hence, the only stable source of information for the post-WW2 students were the (handwritten) compendia of lectures which every student recorded and maintained individually in his or her workbook, as

¹ ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 31. Арк. 4–5.

² ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 40. Арк. 5зв–6.

³ Попп Р. П. Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет... С. 129.

they registered by hand what the professor was saying during the lecture.

Syllabi, too, underwent certain changes in this period. For instance, the 1946–1947 saw the abolishing of military training whereas physical training lessons were still following the syllabus back from 1941.¹ In the atmosphere of *Zhdanovshchina*, a political and ideological campaign furthered by Stalin’s propagandist-in-chief Andrei Zhdanov, the 1948–1949 academic year saw the refocusing upon achievements of ‘Russian and Soviet science’ which were promoted in many areas—not only in the realms of history and literature. To counterweight the alleged ‘subservience to the West’, the so-called ‘achievements’ of the Soviet science in particular where emphasised—and to that end specifically, certain new academic disciplines were introduced². In the 1950–1951 academic year, by virtue of an Executive Order of the Soviet Ministry of Higher Education, a new subject was introduced, entitled *Fundamentals of Stalin’s Doctrine on Languages*³. As the *Zeitgeist* of the day dictated, Stalin’s writings addressing language studies were introduced as part of the curriculum in a number of subjects⁴.

As had been the case traditionally, the Soviet college emphasised the importance of students’ individual work which was construed as unassisted preparation to seminars, practical assignments, writing course works, participating in hobby groups etc. As of the 1944–1945 academic year, a considerable number of students at Lviv Pedagogic Institute—freshmen students in particular—had no idea how to study without teachers’ supervision. Hence, at the very beginning of the their lectures, academic teachers had to first teach students *how* to keep records (compendia) of the lectures, *how* to work with literary sources etc. In March 1945, a methodological conference was held focusing on matters pertaining to students’ individual work. The following items were on the agenda: hygiene and organisation of mental work process, student’s time budget, working with textbooks and other sources, reports by institute’s top students sharing their best practices pertaining to unsupervised work. Afterwards, as soon as the second semester of the same academic year began, each student of Lviv Pedagogic Insti-

¹ ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 40. Арк. 6зв.

² ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 51. Арк. 7–7зв.

³ ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 65. Арк. 10.

⁴ Галів М., Свйонтик О., Ющишин М. Освітній процес... С. 14.

tute was obliged to put together and submit a schedule which he or she had to follow in his or her ‘unsupervised work’¹.

One thing should be noted here: that within the framework of the Soviet higher education, even the ‘individual’ (unsupervised) work of students had to be a planned activity—and was hence regulated by various schedules, timetables, and regulatory documents (that is, executive decrees by institute chancellors/managers/rectors/directors, ordinances issued by faculty deans etc). Thus, academic chairs were urged to carefully supervise the students’ purportedly ‘unsupervised’ learning. In 1950–1951, academic chairs of Lviv Pedagogic Institute instructed their professors and assistant teachers who were conducting practical lessons to control and inspect each student’s independent (‘unsupervised’) work. Meetings were organised, attended by freshmen students and straight A senior students whereby the latter were instructed to ‘share their experience when it comes to individual/unsupervised processing of the education resources’². In the academic year 1953–1954, professors at academic chairs of the said institute instructed students as to which methodology the latter had to use as they were working on a certain book, taking notes (handwritten compendia) of lectures and working with source literature. Certain other chairs even summoned students to attend their tutorial proceedings (sessions) and demanded that students present reports on how had they been working without supervision and what they focused upon during their ‘unsupervised work’. Some of the said professors inspected the students’ handwritten compendia with great rigour, ostensibly in order to verify and ascertain whether the students have or have not managed to make accurate records of proper quality, on an ongoing basis. One major flaw, as far as the students’ individual work was concerned, consisted in the fact that Lviv State Pedagogic Institute just did not have a reading hall large enough to accommodate the actual number of their students. There were 1,200 students enrolled at the Institute but only 50 could fit in the reading hall of its library. The infrastructure left much to be desired³.

One important component of education in pedagogic and teachers training institutes was the pedagogic practice (internships at primary and secondary schools). In the first post-WW2 years, students had their

¹ ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 31. Арк. 5–5зв.

² ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 65. Арк. 13–14.

³ ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 109. Арк. 17.

internships mostly at schools within Oblast (provincial) capitals: the cities of Lviv, Drohobych, Chernivtsi etc. Only as late as in early 1950s, the management of institutes started to increasingly dispatch their students for internship (pedagogic practice) at rural schools. One flaw in the manner of organisation of the said pedagogic practice was the fact that it was scheduled to commence on September 1st—that is, on the same day when children and teachers were back to school after the summer holidays. Some schools only had provisional timetables as of that time whereas certain other schools were still finishing their summer repair works which protracted way into September¹. Case in point: an inspection revealed that, as of the moment of commencement of their school practice in 1950, certain students from Lviv Pedagogic Institute had only been vaguely familiarised with textbooks for secondary school pupils; they also did not know how to compose draft action plans for lessons and how to work with textbooks. Another issue was the issue of language. Interns just did not have a proper command of language (be it the Russian language or the Ukrainian language). Some of them apparently had a ‘stage fright’, as their hands were trembling during lessons. These young people had never been trained to keep their cool in front of an audience. There was even an occurrence whereby one of the students of Lviv Institute was just unable to conduct a lesson as a teacher due to the collywobbles she was experiencing².

One focus in the higher education institutions of Ukraine’s western region in the period in question was the so-called ‘ideological and political upbringing’ of students. After World War II, the ‘greatness’ of the Red Army and of Stalin as its leader were the subject of mass propaganda among students. There were, for instance, 32 academic reports on this topic that were pronounced in public within Lviv Pedagogic Institute. Every day throughout the 1944–1945 academic year, the long break between classes was used to conduct a ‘ten minute briefing’ for students who were informed of the progress in the frontlines of the Second World War. There were topical exhibitions focusing on various events from the Soviet history³.

¹ Галів М., Свйонтик О., Ющишин М. Освітній процес... С. 16.

² Лук’яненко О. «Найближчі друзі партії»: колективи педагогічних вишів України в образах щодення 1920-х – першої половини 1960-х років: Монографія. Полтава: Видавництво «Сімон», 2019. С. 295.

³ ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 31. Арк. 11.

The ‘work in the area of political upbringing’ was underway in academic groups within faculties as well as during all-institute student conferences, plus in the form of separate events organised to that end. The ‘political upbringing’ on the level of separate groups of students was conducted by the ‘idea leaders’, i.e. special tutors assigned to each group for ideological indoctrination. Tutor-supervised student groups were discussing issues pertaining to current political events, students’ behaviour and discipline in the students’ community, and also studied whatever regulatory texts the Communist Party and the Ministry of Education were issuing from time to time. On May 26th–27th, 1947, Lviv Pedagogic Institute hosted a conference summarising students’ accomplishment in the area of studies on biographies of Lenin and Stalin. In May of the same year, the said institute held a dispute (a discussion) the topic of which was *The Moral Face of a Young Person of Our Era*¹.

In 1950–1951, by order of the local Communist party offices, each academic group had a Communist teacher assigned to it. These Communist teachers were instructed to put together plans for ‘political upbringing work’ on the group level. Every week, they held special political classes and ‘political information sessions’. These assignees were constantly monitoring the atmosphere, the vibes in the students’ community as well as the everyday life of students. They also instructed their students to conduct ‘political enlightenment work’ – even during school holiday periods². Lviv Pedagogical Institute regularly held lectures focusing on political topics, for instance: *Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalists as Enemies of the Ukrainian People and Agents of Anglo-American Imperialism*, *Stalin and the Kolkhoz (Collective Farm) Peasantry*, *Leo Tolstoi as the Reflection of the Russian Revolution*. Lectures with similar topics were held every Saturday. Some of the students were presenting their ideological lectures in various institutions, enterprises, and organisations across the city³.

That said, the mass scale political indoctrination of young people in West Ukrainian colleges in the aftermath of the Second World War failed to achieve the expected results. One marker of this was the widespread unwillingness of the studentry to become members of Komsomol (the youth section of the USSR Communist Party). In Feb-

¹ ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 40. Арк. 12–13.

² ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 65. Арк. 28–29.

³ ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 65. Арк. 31–32.

ruary 1948, only 8 of the 224 students at Drohobych Teachers Training Institute were members of the Soviet Communist Party and only 63 students were members of the VLKSM/Komsomol, its youth section. As he was reporting to the Academic Senate in February 1949, the Vice Rector of the Institute emphasised that ‘the level of development of our local Komsomol organisation as well as the results of our struggle against organised religion are quite unsatisfactory. Students openly admit that they do attend church services and that they are afraid to become members of the Komsomol’¹. Liubomyra Chernihevych, a student from Drohobych, was expelled from the institute as a result of the fact that he refused to become a member of the Komsomol, citing her religious convictions. During a meeting of the Komsomol, she said the following phrase: ‘I actually believe in God, I do attend Church services, and I am never going to join the Komsomol’².

For failure to attend classes during Easter of 1949 (classes were specifically scheduled for the holiday period in order to counter organised religious practice), several students were expelled from Drohobych Teachers Training Institute. Students who attended church services were spied upon by students who were member of the Komsomol Youth Union. Religious students were mocked by institute wallpapers. Freshmen students of the Department of Ukrainian Language at the Faculty of Philology of Drohobych Pedagogic Institute, Ms Kashchii and Ms Brych (both originating from the town of Zhuravno) were ridiculed in a caricature placed in an institute wallpaper of March 1949. The caricature depicted two girls having medallions on their necks who were hitting their heads against the ground in front of the Crucifix of Jesus Christ³.

Students were *de facto* forced into joining the Komsomol (Union of Communist Youth). Some of the students were so afraid of potential oppressions that, for fear of being expelled from college, they went as far as to renounce their relatives. Joining the Komsomol could sometimes bring with it ‘the absolution for one’s sins’. One student of the Faculty of Chemistry and Technologies addressed top officials of the local Communist Party organisation at Lviv Polytechnic Institute with

¹ Попп Р. П. Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет... С. 124–125.

² Ільницький В., Кантор Н., Батюк Т. Повсякденне життя... С. 359.

³ Ільницький В., Кантор Н., Батюк Т. Повсякденне життя... С. 360–361.

the following appeal: “I feel a lot of shame and pain when I think of what my father did; the disgrace he brought upon all of us has affected me very strongly. Despite the fact that my father has already received due punishment for his crimes, his deeds are still a disgrace to me, too. I am now a student of a Soviet college and I am going to become a Soviet engineer. In order to become one, I would like to get in line with the progressive youth of our country, I want to become a member of the VLKSM (All-USSR Lenin’s Union of Communist Youth, the youth section of the USSR Communist Party, aka Komsomol)”¹.

In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, higher education establishments in West Ukrainian regions were rife with inter-ethnic and inter-regional strife. Most college students were ethnic Ukrainians. In 1945, there were 7,930 students enrolled in all 12 of higher education institutions of Lviv city; of these, 4,251 were of Ukrainian ethnicity, 2,229 were Russians, 727 were Poles, 402 were Jews, and 204 students belonged to other ethnicities. In 1948, the ethnic composition of the 13,573 students of Lviv colleges was as follows: 9,715 Ukrainians, 3,335 Russians, 242 Poles, and 291 students belonging to other ethnic groups. In the year 1950, the studentry of Lviv city’s higher education establishments was comprised of 69.4% Ukrainians, 20.5% Russians, 6.1% Jews, 1.6% Poles, 1.4% Belarusians, and 1% belonging to other ethnic groups². Similar percentages could be observed in other cities hosting higher education establishments. Case in point: the Teachers Training Institute in Drohobych which, as of February 1948, reported the following numbers: 224 students in total, of which 194 were of Ukrainian ethnicity, 24 were Russians, and 2 students belonging to other ethnic groups. In early 1952, the ethnic composition of the total of 471 students was as follows: 437 Ukrainians, 24 Russians, 1 Belarusian, and 9 Jews³.

However overwhelming the share of Ukrainian students was, few of them were local residents. For instance, of the total 43 students enrolled at the Faculty of History at Drohobych Teachers Training Institute (18 male and 25 female students), only 11 were local residents⁴. As of September 1947, there were 344 students in total on campus, of

¹ Попп Р. Студентство Львова... С. 80.

² Попп Р. Студентство Львова... С. 79.

³ Попп Р. П. Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет... С. 123.

⁴ ДАЛО. Ф. Р-2018. Оп.1. Спр. 15. Арк. 56.

which only 83 were local residents¹. Soviet repressive and punitive authorities were carefully monitoring the political, ethnic, and family background of students and prospective students. The Ordinance issued by the Directorate for Higher Education dated October 10th, 1946 (marked as ‘SECRET’) demanded that the management of Drohobych Teachers Training Institute provide information ‘on the [Communist] party affiliation, ethnic background, and age composition of all of the students’ as soon as possible. Background checks and purges regularly detected ‘class enemy elements’ which usually included children of wealthy peasants, priests, members of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and Ukrainian Insurgent Army or were close or distant relatives of Ukrainian insurgents. What counted was how ‘politically reliable’ a person was².

Despite the fact that Ukrainians constituted an overwhelming majority of college students, management of some institutes was in favour of Russian students and biased against Ukrainian students. In Chernivtsi Pedagogic Institute, for instance, Russians (both students and academic teachers) had a chauvinistic attitude towards Ukrainians, despised the Ukrainian language and culture, and were always trying to convince Ukrainian students (both the local ones and those originating from Eastern Ukraine) of the fact that the Ukrainian culture should be subservient to the Russian culture etc. Inter-ethnic enmity was expressed not only in the condescending attitude the Russians had towards Ukrainians but also the offensive language used against them—specifically, Stalinist political and ideological vulgarisms, such as *kurkuli* (=“kulaks”, wealthy peasants), *banderas* (followers of Stepan Bandera), ‘fascists’, ‘bourgeois spies’. The Ukrainian students were appalled by such an attitude towards them and were resisting it. In view of this, in 1948, the Institute management addressed its students, demanding that inter-ethnic enmity cease. A special meeting was held in order to resolve the inter-ethnic strife between students. We, alas, have not been able to ascertain in which format the said meeting was conducted but we dare to assume that it took place during a Komsomol meeting—which the management of the institute, too, attended. Ukrainian students who were members of the Komsomol and originated from

¹ Попп Р. П. Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет... С. 123.

² Попп Р. Історичний факультет Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету... С. 192.

the Eastern regions of Ukraine put a number of issues on the table, specifically: “Why are class tutors and professors (university teachers) from the Russian department disseminating and fostering inter-ethnic enmity? Why are professors (university teachers) from the Russian department urging their students to attack students from the Ukrainian department? Why is it the case that Russian students—who are actually not deserving of good grades for their academic performance—are in fact rewarded with better grades (on paper)? Why are students from the Russian department not told to work in the subsidiary farm during weekends—as is the case with the students from the Ukrainian department who are forced to do so? As students from the Russian department evade work, maybe they could at least forgo offending us and stop calling us slurs like ‘black workers’ *kolhospyky* [=peasants working at a Soviet collective farm], *khakhly* [=an ethnic slur for Ukrainians] and *banderivsi* [=a nickname for Western Ukrainians, referring to Stepan Bandera’s OUN members]”¹. The institute’s top management could not come up with a clear stance on the matter; largely, their reaction boiled down to declarative appeals wherein the management implored everyone to ‘respect the rights of nations (ethnic groups)’ in the Soviet Union, stressing the fact that discord, offensive behaviour, and mockery were ‘unnecessary’ in the students’ community.

At the same time, there was some tension between students from Ukraine’s Western and Eastern regions, too. The latter ones were born and raised in the Soviet environment; they had attended Soviet schools and were often members of the Komsomol (the youth section of the USSR Communist Party). Documents of the Ukrainian Underground—which was still resisting the Soviet regime in Western Ukraine at the time—mention the fact that local residents just could not stand the behaviour and moral principles of the ‘Easterner’ students. Sometimes, the said documents mention how widespread drunkenness, promiscuity, snitchery (denouncing), rude behaviour etc were among students from Ukraine’s eastern Oblasts (provinces)².

On the other hand, certain documents prepared by the Ukrainian underground resistance note the friendly relations between Ukrainian students from Eastern and Western Ukraine³. These descriptions seem

¹ Архів Центру досліджень визвольного руху. Ф. 63. Т. 8. Арк. 1.

² Льницький В., Кантор Н., Батюк Т. Повсякденне життя... С. 358.

³ Архів Центру досліджень визвольного руху. Ф. 63. Т. 8. Арк. 1.

to be more of a wishful thinking (especially phrases like ‘hatred towards the Party and the government’, ‘resisting to Russian chauvinism’ and suchlike) as the Ukrainian resistance wanted to stress how united the Ukrainian youth was (or was it?) against Soviet totalitarianism. But we should, of course, not rule out the possibility of the fact that quite a lot of students did indeed have a critical stance against the policy of the Soviet authorities and the Bolshevik party; that they were reading ‘revolutionary’ (that is, nationalist) literature, and that they were unwilling to join the Komsomol¹.

Students’ accommodation was quite a challenge. This, of course, depended upon a number of circumstances. But one common problem was the lack of space in dormitories. As we know, one of the buildings of Lviv Pedagogic Institute (Lviv city, 15 Dvernytskoho Street) with 138 rooms in it hosted a dormitory that accommodated 75 students. Two other dormitories that could have accommodated up to 800 students had still been used as military barracks. The city authorities of Lviv failed to take adequate measures in order to ensure that the militarymen vacated the said dormitories ahead of the commencement of the new school year, so that they could be populated by students². As of the academic year 1945–1946, the students’ dormitories of Drohobych Teachers Training Institute could only accommodate 65% of students in need of a place to live³. Heating also happened to be a crucial issue. Case in point: from March 1st, 1947—and until the warm period began—dormitories of Lviv Pedagogic Institute were only partially and intermittently heated due to the fact that the Executive Committee of Lviv City Council had failed to place the additional 35 tonnes of coal at the disposal of the institute⁴. There was no laundry in the dormitory; not enough furniture was prepared for students’ rooms. There were enough beds for students but only one set of bed sheets (only disabled war veterans received two sets of bed sheets)⁵. In 1949, of the 700 students of Lviv Pedagogic Institute, only 265 could be accommodated in the institute’s dormitory. By virtue of a decision by Lviv Oblast (Province) Committee of the Communist Bolshevik

¹ Свйонтик О., Галів М. Документ з історії повсякденного життя... С. 18.

² ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 31. Арк. 2.

³ Попп Р. П. Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет... С. 130.

⁴ ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 40. Арк. 4.

⁵ ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 40. Арк. 17–18.

Party of Ukraine, the Executive Committee of Lviv City Council earmarked another building to be used as dormitory of Lviv Pedagogic Institute: a building in 1 Koneva Street. This building could accommodate 100 to 120 students¹. As of 1950, the floor space in dormitories of Lviv Pedagogic Institute was 1,154m² and this floor space was occupied by 350 students. The accommodation infrastructure was still unsatisfactory, as over 500 students could not be accommodated in dormitories. Every year, a portion of freshmen students quit due to the fact that the dormitories just could not provide accommodation for them².

Lviv Pedagogic Institute and Drohobych Teachers Training Institute each had a subsidiary farm whose workers were students. In the academic year 1944–1945, the subsidiary farm operated by Lviv Pedagogical Institute managed 52 hectares of land and 4 horses. Subsidiary farm focused on growing two basic plants (potatoes and oat) and to produce feed for draught animals and cows³. In 1949, however, the subsidiary farming premises of Lviv Pedagogic Institute was handed over to one of the state-run (*radhosp/sovkhos*) collective farms⁴.

Students and college professors had canteens arranged for them. Young people mostly cooked for themselves, as they brought foodstuffs from back home. Students received a stipend in the amount of 220 to 265 Karbovantsi (Ukrainian language designation of the Soviet *Ruble* currency) per month (the amount varied according to the year of study). Straight A students received an additional +3%; students who already had children were entitled to receive financial aid from the state. Bonuses were assigned to disabled WW2 veterans, Heroes of the Soviet Union and Heroes of Socialist Labour. There were also individual scholarships but, in order to receive one, a student had to possess a flawless ‘background’. The Academic Council of Drohobych Teachers Training Institute recommended to award the Stalin’s Scholarship for the academic year 1950–1951 to Mykhailo Odintsov, a sophomore student of the Faculty of History. His personal dossier listed his qualities: a straight A student, a member of the Communist Party, a war veteran, Deputy Chairman of the Students’ Labour Union, a team lead-

¹ ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 51. Арк 113в.

² ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 65. Арк. 42.

³ ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 31. Арк. 16–17.

⁴ ДАЛО. Ф. Р-7. Оп. 1. Спр. 51. Арк 11–113в.

er, and an ardent activist engaged in mass cultural propaganda among both urban and rural citizens of Drohobych Oblast (province)¹.

As the documents of the Ukrainian underground movement indicated (as of August 1949), students of Drohobych Teachers Training Institute were in dire straits financially, as stipends were only awarded to absolute straight A students—and, in order to become one, a student had to be engaged in ‘political work’. All of the sophomores were still entitled to their stipends since they had been enrolled at the Institute before the later government ruling which mandated that disbursement of stipends be restricted to straight A students – but the subsequent entrants were not so lucky. But even if a straight A student received a stipend, its amount (between 220 and 250 Karbovantsi/Rubles) barely covered his or her essential needs. Dormitory rent, due and payable, amounted to 15 karbovantsi. The students’ canteen offered lunches that were not too expensive but not particularly affordable either. Meal prices were as follows: 25 kopecks (0.25 karbovanets) for a glass of tea, 40 kopecks for a small bun, 2 karbovantsi for a small bowl of soup, 1.60 karbovantsi for a small bowl of borshch².

In his memoirs, Omelian Vyshnevskiy who enrolled at Chernivtsi Pedagogic Institute (which eventually became a university) in 1948, recalled how strapped for cash students’ parents were, hence the students just could not count on them and thus could not afford to cater at the students’ canteen. Students were fiercely competing for a stipend which was only awarded to those who received A and B grades. This was hardly an easy task. If a student failed to perform good enough to receive a stipend, he or she had to quit the institute. Each dorm room usually accommodated four to five students, with one kitchen for several rooms. A kitchen had a huge table covered with galvanised sheets and some rubbish bins. On this table, students placed a small petrol (gasoline) stove which was used to cook food. A petrol-powered stove was a must-have for every students. Yellow maize porridge with *salo* (salted unrendered pork fat popular in Ukraine) was the everyday lunch meal. Maize was purchased in the open-air peasants’ market, at a price of 4 *karbovantsi* per kilo. Basic stipend amounted to 220 karbovantsi per month; however, each student had to repay 1 monthly stipend

¹ Попп Р. Історичний факультет Дрогобицького державного педагогічно-го університету... С. 194.

² Ільницький В., Кантор Н., Батюк Т. Повсякденне життя... С. 361.

amount back to the state (as a ‘state loan’), thus the net amount receivable was actually smaller. Some students could only count on a stipend to support them—especially those who were WW2 orphans¹.

It can thus be said that the life and education of students in Ukraine’s western regions in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War was governed by regulations—first and foremost, by their curriculum, timetables, and syllabi. The quality of their training was affected by the lack of textbooks, guidebooks, and reference books. Individual (unsupervised) learning was based upon whatever each student managed to record in his or her handwritten compendium of lectures; the content of these was also regulated and monitored by both college professors and authorised supervisors from the Komsomol organisation. Internships (pedagogic practice at schools in particular) were of crucial importance to the students. Even those students who had excellent performance during their college studies sometimes turned out to be methodologically and psychologically unprepared to take up work as school teachers. Instructional/formative activity in West Ukrainian institutes was mostly confined to political and ideological training and indoctrination of students with Communist ideas. This activity included a variety of forms: ranging from generic lectures to sightseeing tours and meetings with prominent Soviet activists. Since 1950, in order to ensure that the studentry was ideologically indoctrinated and properly supervised (or, rather, monitored), there was a Communist professor assigned to each academic group who put together schedules for ‘political upbringing activity’ on the level of groups. These ‘Communist tutors’ held ‘political studies and political information meetings’ every month and were regularly monitoring the vibes in the students’ community and the students’ everyday life. Komsomol (the Communist Party Youth Section) was crucial to the indoctrination of students. The authorities tried to engage as many students as possible to become members of the Komsomol. Administrative pressure, threats, and blackmail were used to achieve that goal. Students who were religious or originated from the families of ‘class enemies’ were de facto bullied. This bullying was manifestly overlooked by the management of institutes and enthusiastically supported by the Komsomol organisation. The students were in dire straits as the

¹ Вишневецький О. На роздоріжжях минулого. Спогади на схилі літ – від першої особи. Дрогобич, 2011. С. 85–86.

dormitories failed to provide sufficient accommodation to students; there were sanitary issues in dorm rooms, not enough furniture and bed sheets etc. Students received only as much food as their parents could give them or insofar as they received their stipend which—however modest it was—still provided those students that could not count on their parents’ assistance to maintain at least a nominally decent level of sustenance. In the aftermath of the Second World War, the studentry of Western Ukraine often had to interact with students of other ethnicities. This sometimes caused inter-ethnic strife (particularly between Ukrainians and Russians). Some students had links to the underground of Ukrainian liberation movement and thus became targets of the Soviet system of oppression. The latter aspect has, however, not been addressed in this particular article due to the fact that this issue is too vast to be just mentioned incidentally and indeed calls for a separate academic research.

Mykola Haliv, Mykhail Hrand, Khrystyna Shemenda

ESSAY ON THE HISTORY OF THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF THE REBELS OF THE CARPATHIAN REGION (1944 – the 1950s)

Each individual, in one's essence, performing certain work, aims to implement plans, complete a task or achieve a set goal. For Ukrainian nationalists, the ultimate limit has always been the creation of an independent Ukrainian cathedral state or, in a narrower sense, the struggle against the occupation regimes, which led to constant hostilities. Military reality by its very nature is perhaps the most difficult of all. This can be explained by the specifics of the conditions in which the soldier's life and activities took place: constant danger. Therefore, the moral and psychological state of the underground participants had a direct influence on the path to successful results (the level of combat activity, discipline or internal cohesion), which was quite difficult to maintain at the proper level, in parallel with the activities of the Soviet security forces in the country.

Considering this, in the modern Ukrainian historiography of national liberation struggles of the 20th century find coverage not only of the problems of the “external side” of the OUN and the URA (ideology, structure, tactical operations, raids) but also of the “internal” one – everyday life, which had no less influence on the results of activities. Thus, the topic of the moral and psychological spirit of the Ukrainian insurgents has already been chosen by: Galina Starodubets¹, Vasyl Ilnytskyi², Yuriy Kyrychuk³, Dmytro Vedeneev⁴,

¹ Стародубець Г. Суспільно-політичні чинники формування морально-психологічного клімату у повстанському запіллі (1944–1945). *Український визвольний рух*. 2007. Вип. 11. С. 119–137.

² Ільницький В. Основні завдання політвиховної роботи у ВО 4 “Говерля”. *Сучасні тенденції розвитку освіти і науки в інтердисциплінарному контексті. Діалог культур як чинник інтеграції: зб. матер. наук.-практ. конф.* / ред.-упоряд. І. Зимомря, В. Ільницький, Д. Романюк, А. Сохал. Варшава–Ужгород–Херсон: Посвіт, 2019. С. 19–21.

³ Киричук Ю. Український національний рух 40–50-х років ХХ століття: ідеологія та практика. Львів: Добра справа, 2003. 463 с.

⁴ Веденеєв Д., Биструхін Г. Двобій без компромісів. Протиборство спецпідрозділів ОУН та радянських сил спецоперацій. 1945–1980-ті роки. Київ: К.І.С, 2007. 568 с.

Ruslan Zabilyi¹, Marta Havryshko², who only partially reveal the content of the declared topic, or, on the contrary, scrupulously cover a separate part of it.

The source base of the scientific research involves the use of materials from the Branch State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (SSU), Archives of the Office of the Security Service of Ukraine of Lviv (AOSSU LR) and Ivano-Frankivsk (AOSSU IFR) regions, the State Archive of the Lviv region (SALR), as well as documents, published in the Annals of the URA.

Having analyzed the collected material, we can say that the foundation of any organization is its members, and their moral, psychological and physical condition is the key to achieving the set goals. Moreover, without morally prepared personnel, any idea is doomed to failure. Morality in the ranks of Ukrainian nationalists was understood as a form of human consciousness, which reflected the norms of people's behaviour (their mutual relations or attitude towards society in general). For their part, those who acted following the interests of the struggle for the USSD (love for the homeland, idealism, perseverance) were considered highly moral people. It should be added that there are no established moral norms. All of them change under the influence of reality or beliefs in social life. The middle of the 20th century became a challenge, because the circumstances (the policy of the Soviet government) were created in such a way that this morality was destroyed, not supported or "constructed". Based on these reasons, the leaders emphasized that life's difficulties: the worst living conditions, hunger, cold, fear, torment, and torture could not break Ukrainian warriors³. In addition, good physical condition, which could be achieved during hard work, had a great influence on the formation of the moral face of the rebels, because under such conditions the body is formed, endurance, discipline, diligence and perseverance are cultivated⁴. However, the repressive and punitive system caused a complex social and politi-

¹ Забілий Р. Повстанське бусідо. Моральний кодекс воїнів УПА. URL: https://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2016/05/30/149097/view_print/

² Гавришко М. Гендерні аспекти сексуальної моралі в ОУН і УПА у 1940–1950-х роках. *Український визвольний рух*. 2015. Вип. 20. С. 199–212; Гавришко М. Чоловіки, жінки й насильство в ОУН та УПА в 1940–1950-х рр. *Український історичний журнал*. 2016. Вип. 4. С. 89–107.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 12. Арк. 223.

⁴ Там само. Арк. 169.

cal situation in the Western Ukrainian region through mass terror¹. The rebels were under constant pressure and the threat of death, which could not but affect their moral and psychological state and health.

Many factors influenced the moral and psychological state of soldiers. Among them, it is worth highlighting:

Winter period. Considering the moral, psychological, physical, food, and technical aspects of life in the underground of the participants of the Ukrainian liberation movement, winter was the most difficult period. The leaders of the nationalist structures were good psychologists and realized that, along with technical preparation for winter (food, clothing, medicines, etc.), attention should be paid to the moral education of personnel and the population. Hence the well-argued statement: “People without moral strength and stoicism, faith and fanaticism in the harsh winter time will morally decay, lose faith and lead others to this, there will be also those who will go to traitorous (minister) work. People need to be instilled with love for the people, faith, heroism, a sense of revolutionary honour”². We find confirmation of this in the report of the “Pidkarpatsi” kuren’ (for the period from January 1 – August 31, 1946). It says that the morale of the soldiers deteriorated significantly during the winter period. Lack of food (“for every piece of bread they had to pay with the lives of shooters”), the cold forced the rebels to “fight fiercely for life and death and die heroically, blowing themselves up with grenades”³. Because of this, among the requirements for education and training, the following should be singled out for soldiers: “Pay a lot of attention to the cultivation of strong characters, create strong heroic morals, and only then pay attention to intelligence. A morally healthy person will find his way to intellectual growth. We may have many wise men, but if we have few men of high morals, we may lose the battle or make many victims”⁴.

Separation from relatives. Among the members of the underground, there was a large part of family soldiers who put the fight for

¹ Стародубець Г. Повстанське запілля в умовах “великої блокади”. *Науковий вісник Волинського національного університету імені Лесі Українки. Історичні науки*, 2009. Вип. 13. С. 219.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 20. Арк. 25.

³ Там само. Спр. 376. Т. 62. Арк. 180.

⁴ Там само. Спр. 372. Т. 20. Арк. 26–27.

the USSD above fathers, women or children and sacrificed warm family relations¹. Therefore, individual members of the organization felt a lack of such communication, they were oppressed by loneliness. Overcoming the pain of separation in underground conditions was not the same for everyone. Some, not being able to stand it, tried to combine underground work with communication with their family. Sometimes the harsh everyday life of the rebels morally broke individual nationalists². After the death of the OUN regional leader Stepan Slobodian-“Efrem” among the documents of the special services, a note personally written by him to his wife Maria Nima-“Marta” was discovered. Its content conveys the moral and psychological complexity of the situation in which he found himself: “Time is cruel, like a she-wolf. Every time one has to accompany the death of one of the close friends with intense grief, and in the mind [...] that almost every next day will bring new and new victims”³.

Prohibition on intimate relationships with women. The conspiracy of the underground members could take place with the help of the involvement of female agents. Their job was to earn the trust and even love feelings of the underground men. Agents had the right to ask about political work only in the case of a firm belief that they had managed to enter into a close personal relationship. For this reason, the command forbade the underground to maintain close contact with women. In the presence of such, it was emphasized to be guided by a cold mind, and not by heart. A warriors should always have Ukraine in the first place, and then his family and his beloved one⁴. At the same time, one of the means of the repressive and punitive bodies’ struggle against the Ukrainian liberation movement was the spread of infections, and diseases, primarily venereal⁵. In this regard, the underground even developed special recommendations: to conduct a medical examination of all members, sympathizers, candidates and insurgents, and, if possible, the civilian population, especially those who returned from prison, cities, those who live in villages, in which garrisons were sta-

¹ Там само. Спр. 376. Т.12. Арк. 225.

² Там само. Т. 95. Арк. 223; Спр. 376. Т. 25. Арк. 338.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 56. Арк. 32; Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 60 (1953). Спр. 3. Т. 5. Арк. 154.

⁴ ГДА СБУ, Ф. 13. Спр. 398. Т. 21. Арк.77.

⁵ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 98 (1954). Спр. 14. Арк. 44.

tioned; identify those infected with the disease in front of the village population; prohibit the infected from intimate meetings with the healthy. Failure to comply with the order was allowed to be punished with death, in fact, as those who deliberately tried to destroy a living and healthy national organism. Medical assistance was provided to patients who were in the first or second stage of the disease. All infected women who returned from prison were recommended to be lenient, sympathize with them, and provide medical assistance. However, in the event of the spread of the disease, death was threatened. Members of the organization who had the disease in the highest stage were recommended to be given a pistol and a grenade for carrying out assassination¹. Various types of punishments were prescribed for intimate relationships: from a warning to dismissal from the post or the death penalty by firing squad. It should be added that such measures were applied not only to men but also to women.

Apathy. Based on the testimonies of enthusiastic nationalists, intelligence data, and underground documents, the Chekists constantly monitored the moral and psychological state of the underground cadres, since the ability to wage an armed and propaganda struggle directly depended on this. From an intelligence report dated November 9, 1951, they learned that in the territory of Kolomyia sub-district, in contrast to Horodenka, the bulk of the members of the OUN were old cadres, exhausted and demoralized by the struggle. Accordingly, work was perceived by them as a forced duty, and therefore they performed it rather out of obligation, without enthusiasm. Some of them began to think exclusively about self-preservation. However, they did not break away from the organization, because belonging to it made it possible to prepare food, receive money, and maintain authority among the masses. At the same time, it was noted that such members were partly “more political”, philosophers, and had their comments and additions to each order. The level of execution of orders weakened due to discouragement, in such situations, the propensity for conflicts among members increased². Failure to fulfil tasks or orders led to the decline of the organization³. Therefore, the management emphasized strict

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 20. Арк. 28–29; ДАЛЮ. Ф. П-5001. Оп. 7. Спр. 220. Арк. 131.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 99 (1954). Спр. 14. Т. 1. Арк. 84.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 12. Арк. 63.

control over all orders and their compliance¹. As we can see, violations of these norms were manifested in underground realities. This also includes improper or untimely execution of orders, which involved a harsh sentence. So, for example, on October 11, 1945, the death penalty was awarded by firing squad in Stanislav region to the supra-district propaganda referent “Rolyand”, who sabotaged his work for eight months (January-August 1945), did not respond to messages from his superiors and ignored orders².

At the beginning of the 1950s, the underground was going through the most difficult period in its history. During the period 1950–1951, the Carpathian region of the OUN lost a significant number of members and leadership. However, during the summer of 1951, almost all the provides were at least partially restored. Special services widely used intelligence data when characterizing the situation of the underground. Any misunderstandings that occurred between the soldiers, the leadership or the population were only in the hands of the Soviet security forces, who called to actively create such situations and even more, gave direct instructions³.

The insurgents were forced to admit that the operational strike on the OUN underground demoralized not only the rank-and-file underground but also the leaders⁴. It was especially intense in Bukovyna district of the OUN. The number of senior staff was decreasing day by day, and it was almost impossible to find new ones to replace them. The decrease in the number of underground participants due to arrests or deaths in clashes with the troops disrupted ties. Their recovery became increasingly difficult, as every attempt to do so was threatened with arrest or physical death⁵. In addition, the undergrounds who remained in Chernivtsi region had food shortages. The lack of live communication also harmed the moral and psychological state⁶. Most of the underground from Galychyna, who was sent to Bukovyna, considered it to be the territory of eviction and death⁷.

¹ Там само. Т. 28. Арк. 27.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 51. Арк. 319.

³ Трач Христофор. *Приватний архів В. Ільницького*. Арк. 25.

⁴ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 98 (1954). Спр. 1. Т. 2. Арк. 133.

⁵ Там само. Оп. 58 (1953). Спр. 1. Т. 1. Арк. 102.

⁶ Там само. Оп. 99 (1954). Спр. 6. Арк. 105.

⁷ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 14. Арк. 18.

Death. In addition, death is an integral part of the war. Because of this, every member of the underground understood that his activity was a direct threat to his life. However, he agreed to this knowingly, voluntarily and proudly and honestly looked the enemy in the eye¹. Heroic deeds were shown not only by male soldiers but also by women. They, understanding the entire policy of the Soviet government, were ready for any actions to preserve and not expose the Ukrainian underground. However, the rebels painfully experienced the loss of comrades-in-arms, relatives and friends.

Disease. All kinds of diseases remained an inevitable phenomenon in military realities for Ukrainian nationalists. They were caused both by unsatisfactory conditions (cold, humidity), lifestyle (weak and irregular nutrition, hygiene, intense neuro-physical work, debauchery), and psychosomatic nature (stress, worries). Such a situation led to the fact that almost every member of the OUN, and URA had heart diseases, and suffered from colds, which often caused serious complications. Due to the lack of adequate nutrition, scurvy became a common disease, as well as inflammation, tuberculosis, scabies, typhus, and venereal diseases². Although it was possible to buy medicine, the underground did not have the opportunity to consult with doctors and therefore did not know which drugs should be used without harm to health³. However, the rebels ignored all these challenges and were ready to fulfil their duties⁴. Sometimes the insurgents, due to their poor health, refused appointments, or even on the recommendation of the top management, could come out of the underground⁵.

In 1950, the leaders of the OUN took some decisive steps aimed at the ideological education and moral strengthening of the cadres who remained underground. At the same time, the work of SB was strengthened⁶. Among the rank-and-file members, thoughts about turning themselves in were spreading. However, the leaders restrained them, although there were conversations that “further staying in the

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 12. Арк. 222.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 20. Арк. 27–29.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 59 (1953). Спр. 6. Т. 4. Арк. 154.

⁴ Там само. Оп. 57 (1953). Спр. 1. Т. 4. Арк. 124.

⁵ Там само. Оп. 93 (1954). Спр. 1. Арк. 56.

⁶ Там само. Оп. 98 (1954). Спр. 1. Т. 2. Арк. 138.

underground is pointless because everyone will die”¹. Difficult living conditions and diseases aggravated the contradictions in the underground. Over the years, the number of personnel with significant organizational experience decreased, which had a negative effect on work with the population, relations with them were strictly regulated, and violations of the adopted rules were severely punished².

The following factors influenced the improvement of the moral and psychological state of the participants of the liberation movement:

The level of support of the local population, was generally high, although party reports constantly emphasized the opposite. The population not only helped the underground with food and clothing, and provided shelter, but also informed about movement, places of deployment, the number of repressive and punitive bodies, sabotaged state programs, was a source of replenishment of underground personnel, created an organization to fight against the Soviet administration, disrupted official measures of the authorities, collected various testimonies, attracted new members, persons who lived legally, collected money, put up stickers, spread propaganda, etc³. There are known cases when residents stole weapons from drunken Soviet security guards and handed them over to the underground with the words: “Beat, guys, beat the Bolshevik tatars”⁴. In the villages, where the underground appeared less often, they were always greeted especially warmly - they asked about problems and rejoiced at their successes. Ukrainian warriors were considered their defenders, avengers of wrongs⁵.

The population made tremendous efforts to resist the establishment of Soviet authorities, collectivization and other government campaigns. Each settlement became a source of procurement of food, clothing, ammunition, weapons, expenses for printing materials, intelligence data, communications, a network of hiding places and bunkers, etc⁶. Not only peasants cooperated with the underground, but also the intel-

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 56. Арк. 34.

² Киричук Ю. Український національний рух 40–50-х років ХХ століття: ідеологія та практика. Львів: Добра справа, 2003. С. 143.

³ АУСБУ ЛО. Спр. 48323. Арк. 45, 91, 104, 107, 141, 143–148.

⁴ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 51. Арк. 156.

⁵ Там само. Спр. 376. Т. 80. Арк. 391.

⁶ Український національно-визвольний рух на Прикарпатті в ХХ столітті. Документи і матеріали / відп. ред. проф. Микола Кугутяк. Т. 2. Івано-Франківськ: КПФ “ЛІК”, 2010. Кн. 2: 1945–1946. С. 6.

ligentsia, members of government institutions, enterprises and organizations. According to D. Vedeneyev, “participants of the liberation movement and a significant part of the population (they did not consider the Soviet regime legitimate for themselves), who supported it, can be classified as combatants according to the norms of international humanitarian law. Given the real status of the Ukrainian Soviet quasi-state and the peculiarities of the totalitarian regime’s methods of action, this situation is quite understandable. However, the Soviet authorities interpreted these people as citizens of the USSR and extended their jurisdiction over them”¹.

Undoubtedly, the harshness of the repressions was a factor that influenced the support of the local population. There were cases when the population, fearing the betrayal of the underground, did not actively participate in the liberation struggle and even refused to give food. The attitude of the local population towards the Ukrainian liberation movement was also influenced by the fact that the underground who surrendered, sometimes impersonated those who supported the liberation movement. This caused the loss of support for a large part of the population. In general, the population was intimidated and afraid to help the movement, although, as the rebels noted, they were with them at heart. This was characteristic of those areas where there were no compulsory attendance². At the same time, the underground noted the difficult economic and moral and psychological state of society, which caused a decrease in support for nationalists.

A significant moral blow for the underground was the arming of local youth in groups for the protection of public order and the use of these persons by the Chekists to protect villages and collective farms from attacks by the underground³.

Promotion of a healthy lifestyle. A good level of health was important during the fight, which had to be taken care. First of all, they urged to give up the factors that weakened one’s health: debauchery, alcohol, laziness and other bad habits. Since mobility deteriorated under their influence and the desire to carry out further work was lost, the

¹ Веденеев Д., Биструхін Г. Двобій без компромісів. Протиборство спецпідрозділів ОУН та радянських сил спецоперацій. 1945–1980-ті роки. Київ: К.І.С., 2007. С. 42.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 52. Арк. 126–127.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 98 (1954). Спр. 1. Т. 2. Арк. 132.

underground destroyed itself, and therefore the entire organization. The impossibility of giving up these dependencies was seen as a manifestation of low moral value and made further struggle in the ranks of the underground impossible¹. In June 1951, M. Dyachenko-“Homin” held a meeting with the heads of the district and supra-district administrations of Carpathian region, which lasted more than a week. Here, instructions were given regarding the moral strengthening of the underground cadres of the OUN, the fight against alcoholism and venereal diseases, etc. At first, they even thought of legalizing all sexually transmitted diseases, but in the end, they decided not to².

Warriors were encouraged to maintain their physical health with the help of sports. Daily exercises, running, jumping, and marching not only became the prevention of many diseases but also brought up discipline, perseverance, hard work, and clarity³. There were the qualities with which a Ukrainian nationalist should have been endowed. At the same time, the poor physical condition was an obstacle to continuing the fight⁴.

Friendship. Friendship played an important moral and psychological function. It meant mutual respect and responsibility, help and compassion. It was a more determined and courageous feeling than a sentimental one (joint singing, fun), which was based on the principle of “into the fire and water” and rejected any manifestations of selfishness and envy. Military realities, and with them: stressful situations, excitement, and fear brought the participants of the underground⁵. A friendly relationship could guarantee fewer conflicts. Based on the studied sources, we understand that the relations between the members of the underground influenced the moral atmosphere and the success of the actions carried out, and were supposed to be built on mutual respect and trust. Even more, maintaining friendship was seen as a duty of soldiers and a great inner strength of the team. Friendly relations with commanders also had a significant impact on morale, which was manifested in all spheres of activity⁶.

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т.12. Арк. 224, 320.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 108 (1954). Спр. 2. Т. 2. Арк. 27.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 18. Арк. 261

⁴ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 57 (1953). Спр. 1. Т. 4. Арк. 123, 193.

⁵ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 12. Арк. бзв.

⁶ Трач Христофор. *Приватний архів В. Ільницького*. Арк. 25.

However, the morale of the members of the OUN underground was adversely affected by the loss of combat friends, as well as the strengthening of repression by the special services against those civilians who helped the OUN underground, continuous persecution by the MGB, and, therefore, the undermining of the food base. These trends intensified in the late 1940s¹.

Folklore conveys all the difficulties of the struggle of the Ukrainian liberation movement with the repressive and punitive system, emotional experiences, pain and suffering of both an individual and the entire society. In separate large-scale battles, the deaths of rebels became the subject of reflection in oral folk art. Quite a lot of information about the peculiarities of relationships and the adjustment of everyday life has been preserved in songs. At the same time, according to Hryhoriy Demian: “The active use of older and creation of new insurgent songs, including prison songs, is an irrefutable confirmation of the highest popular recognition of justice and nobility, heroism and sacrifice of the Ukrainian national liberation movement of 1940-1960, its greatness and immortality”².

Therefore, the effectiveness of the opposition of the Ukrainian liberation movement to the repressive and punitive bodies depended on the moral, psychological and physical condition of the underground rebels of Carpathian region of the OUN. A significant factor affecting the moral and psychological state of both the ordinary participant and the leader (commander) was the loss of loved ones, which they courageously endured while continuing the struggle. At the same time, constant emotional stress, and poor, irregular nutrition led to a significant deterioration in the health of the underground and insurgents. The final stage of the struggle is marked by a decrease in combat potential, which, despite everything, the leadership tried to strengthen in various ways.

Vasyl Ihnytskyi, Liliia Hrynyk, Nataliya Kantor

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 59 (1953). Спр. 5. Т. 4. Арк. 133.

² Дем’ян Г. Українські повстанські пісні 1940–2000-х років. Львів: Галицька видавнича спілка, 2003. С. 450, 482.

DAILY COOPERATION BETWEEN THE GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT (1944–1950s)

Often, when studying the events in the western Ukrainian lands of the middle of the 20th century, we do not think about what helped preserve national identity, give life to devastated lands or morally hopeless people, shape culture and preserve historical memory at a time when the idea of Ukraine was erased by any means? The church is a social and spiritual institution that throughout our history did not stand aside from important state-building problems and was closely connected with the Ukrainian people. The vector of the Soviet government's policy for the transformation of all spheres of life did not bypass the spiritual as well. Understanding the strong resistance of the population to the direct destruction of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (UGCC), the officials covered themselves with a “merger” and “reunification” with the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC), and thus eliminated all opponents with a wave of mass terror. A difficult period began for the Greek Catholic Church – the “catacomb period”, which confirmed all the strength and power of faith. A generalized coverage of the problem will make it possible to understand the nature of the confrontation between the Soviet government and the Ukrainian church.

The problems of the pseudo-cathedral and the liquidation of the UGCC are widely covered in Ukrainian historiography. Not only historians paid attention to this topic, but also religious scholars and persons of spiritual rank. First of all, we should mention the works of I. Andruhiv¹, V. Serhiychuk², V. Makarchuk³, O. Lysenko⁴, N. Kotsur-Karabinovych⁵,

¹ Андрухів І. Релігійне життя на Прикарпатті: 1944–1990 роки. Історико-правовий аналіз. Івано-Франківськ: Обласна друкарня, 2004. 344 с.

² Сергіичук В. Нескорена церква: подвижництво греко-католиків України в боротьбі за віру і державу. Київ: Дніпро, 2001. 496 с.

³ Макарчук В. Церква, духовність, нація. Українська греко-католицька церква в суспільному житті України ХХ ст. Івано-Франківськ: Плай, 2004. 464 с.

⁴ Лисенко О. Церковне життя в Україні 1943–1946 рр. Київ, 1998. 403 с.

⁵ Концур-Карабінович Н. Греко-католицька церква. Початки підпілля. Івано-Франківськ: Нова зоря, 2011. 220 с.

D. Solovey¹. The repressive policy of the Soviet government was highlighted by V. Bilas², O. Maslii³, M. Haliv⁴. Y. Kyrychuk⁵ and D. Vedeneev⁶ made a significant contribution to the development of historical research on the national liberation struggles of the middle of the 20th century, and thus to the clarification of the problems of the church. The work of B. Praha⁷ is also worth noting.

The creation and existence of the state is impossible without the spiritual birth of the people and the formation of moral values. Therefore, the establishment of Soviet power and the beginning of the fight against the Ukrainian liberation movement in the western Ukrainian lands had as its basis the fight against the church or religion as a factor of consolidation. In view of this, the Communist Party authorities had a negative attitude towards both religion in general and the church as an authoritative independent structure in particular, and therefore pursued a policy of limiting its influence up to and including liquidation or at least establishing control. In Western Ukraine, the distinctly Ukrain-

¹ Соловей Д. Голгота України. Ч. 1: Московсько-большевицький окупаційний терор в УРСР між першою і другою світовою війною. Дрогобич: “Відродження”, 1993. 288 с.

² Білас В. Репресії радянських органів держбезпеки проти УГКЦ у Львівській області (1944–1946). *Український визвольний рух*, 2011. №15. С. 229–250.

³ Маслій О. Жіноче чернецтво Галиччини в умовах ліквідації Української греко-католицької церкви та сталінських репресій (друга половина 1940-х – початок 1950-х рр.). *Наукові праці історичного факультету Запорізького національного університету*, 1(40). С. 174–179.

⁴ Галів М., Огар А. Радянські репресії проти духовенства Греко-католицької церкви у 1944–1947 (на прикладі біографії о. Івана Котіва). *Проблеми гуманітарних наук: збірник наукових праць ДДПУ імені Івана Франка. Серія Історія*, 2021. 6/48, С. 319–341.

⁵ Киричук Ю. А. Український національний рух 40–50-х років ХХ століття: ідеологія та практика. Львів: Добра справа, 2003. 463 с.

⁶ Веденеєв Д. В. Релігійні конфесії України як об’єкт оперативної розробки німецьких і радянських спецслужб (1943–1945 рр.). *Український історичний журнал*, 2012. № 4. С. 104–126; Веденеєв Д. Атеїсти в мундирах: Советские спецслужбы и религиозная сфера Украины. Москва: Алгоритм, 2016. 496 с.

⁷ Духовенство Перемиської єпархії та Апостольської адміністрації Лемківщини: у 2-х томах / гол. ред. Б. Прах. Львів: Видавництво УКУ, 2015. Т. 1. 722 с.

ian character of the Greek Catholic Church, which acted as a driver of national revival, was additionally superimposed on this. After the retreat of the German troops, the Soviet authorities launched an attack on this church. At the same time, the struggle against the UGCC must be considered in the context of measures to eliminate the Ukrainian liberation movement. After the Lviv pseudo-cathedral of 1946, those priests who did not join the Russian Orthodox Church continued to serve illegally, and some went underground¹.

As early as July 1945, the Bolsheviks held a meeting of Greek Catholic priests in Drohobych, at which they talked about converting to Orthodoxy. Each of those present undertook to sign a consent statement for such a transition. Some of the priests believed that this was the only possibility to save their lives (considering the signing of the statement a formality, which did not have the consequences of changing the rite of worship)², and the other – “preferred to accept martyrdom or go to Siberia for torture, than submit to the Bolsheviks to demoralizers and thereby go to menial work”³. In case of refusal, the Soviet authorities carried out mass arrests. So, for example, as of July 1945, 107 people were arrested on the territory of the then Stanislaviv, Lviv, Drohobych and Ternopil regions, including: metropolitans – 1, bishops – 4, priests – 72, monks – 1⁴.

In the report of the referent of the SS of the Stanislaviv district branch of the OUN, Ivan Synenko – “Yara”, seized on April 22, 1947, it was noted: “All the priests who did not convert to Orthodoxy were expelled from the parishes by the Bolsheviks, and the churches were either closed, or they attached fake priests from neighboring villages. The exceptions were priests – agents of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Internal Affairs. Such people are not converted to Orthodox and are not expelled from parishes. Faced priests (Orthodox) have completely switched to missionary work. Slamming the temples of God, they proclaim almost Marxism from their pulpits, call on the popula-

¹ Ліквідація УГКЦ (1939–1946). Документи радянських органів державної безпеки. Київ: ПП Сергійчук М. І., 2006. Т. 1. 920 с.; Ліквідація УГКЦ (1939–1946). Документи радянських органів державної безпеки. Київ: ПП Сергійчук М. І., 2006. Т. 2. 804 с.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 78. Арк. 247, 305.

³ Там само. Т. 2. Арк. 5.

⁴ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Спр. 195. Арк. 6.

tion to loyally deliver supplies (Priest from Oleshiv village of Tlumach district) and to active participation in the elections (Strygantsi village of Tysmenets district). Orthodox deans carry pistols, and their houses are connected by telephones to district centers”¹.

Underground documents record examples of various methods of pressure applied to priests by the Soviet law enforcement agencies². In the territory of the Carpathian region, most of the priests joined the Russian Orthodox Church (under the influence of terror), others were arrested, deported or forced to renounce the priesthood, and therefore one parish priest served several villages³. By the way, some priests together with their families were deported (not tried) to special settlements for anti-Soviet activities.

One of the biggest problems for the Soviet administration was the cooperation of the Greek Catholic Church with Ukrainian nationalists. Such relations between the clergy and the underground were not one-sided. Ukrainian soldiers were supposed to provide assistance in the plan to restore the GCC. Therefore, one of the primary tasks was the defense of the Greek Catholic Church, as it was a new front in the struggle against the Bolsheviks. Nationalists also helped the Greek Catholic clergy to oppose the repressive and punitive system and publicize the crimes committed by the system against them. In his confessions of November 11, 1949, Roman Bakhtalovsky noted that he had written a document in French, which he twice tried to send abroad to the church leadership of the GCC to Rome through the communication channels of the OUN. In the end, in 1946, he did manage to do it⁴. The priests, for their part, had to take the side of the OUN and the UPA, since until now only a few of them understood the Ukrainian rebels and sympathized with them. The mission of protection and defense of the Greek Catholic Church is also discussed during the interrogation of V. Chyzhevsky by the Soviet security forces. In particular, he says that leaflets were made underground, which were intended to inform the population of Western Ukraine about the support of the church⁵.

¹ Там само. Оп. 93 (1954). Спр. 1. Арк. 54–55.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 81. Арк. 160.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 29. Арк. 17.

⁴ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 98 (1954). Спр. 1. Т. 2. Арк. 64–65; Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 33. Арк. 375.

⁵ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 6. Спр. 33286-фп. Т. 2. Арк. 231–232.

The church's support of the underground took place at various levels. There were many cases when Ukrainian nationalists turned to monasteries for help. Their number increased especially after 1944. The clergy, to the best of their ability, tried to provide constant help, but there is also evidence of refusal due to alleged repressions by the Soviet security forces. A whole series of Greek-Catholic monasteries became a hiding place for Ounivians and Upivians and a kind of bases from which UPA departments were supplied with medicines, clothing, food, etc. Underground hospitals were often set up in monasteries, where wounded nationalists were treated¹.

The Greek Catholic clergy, which "reunited" with the Russian Orthodox Church on March 8-10, 1946, especially in rural areas, had constant connections with the underground. For a long time, nationalist literature was published in monasteries, various propaganda and medical courses were organized. It is known that such events were held at the beginning of 1944, on the basis of the monastery of the village. Pidmykhailivtsi Rohatyn district, Stanislav region. They lasted six weeks, and about 15 underground women were involved in the training. Nun Taisa took part in their conduct and teaching. During 1945-1948, the abbess of the same monastery, Polyanska, hid underground people here, as well as provided clothes and food, and provided medical aid to the wounded². Individual clergy used the reunion as a cover and, despite their "loyalty", continued to help the Ukrainians, including including materially, hiding underground people in their apartments, storing weapons and ammunition in churches F³.

Both priests and monks conducted anti-Soviet agitation among the population, i.e. engaged in nationalist activities. It is known that all the monasteries of Stanislav and the region (eight men's and women's) took part in this work ("Vasilyan", "Studite", "Servant", "Redemptorist" monasteries), and the church publications "Missionar", "Sunday", "Christ is our strength" published anti-soviet texts⁴.

At the same time, Greek Catholic priests used underground communication lines to transmit information abroad, in particular to the

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 55. Арк. 65.

² Там само. Т. 56. Арк. 71.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 12 (1960). Спр. 43. Арк. 229.

⁴ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 56. Арк. 66-67.

Vatican¹. They connected the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people for the restoration of the Ukrainian state with the restoration of the full activity of the Greek Catholic Church².

In some churches and monasteries there were warehouses for storing weapons. For example, in the Voron village of Oтынyаn district the priest hid three underground people in the church premises, setting up a bed for them behind the altar. The parish priest himself let the underground people into the church through a specially equipped door in the sacristy. In addition, behind the altar, under the floor, he organized a warehouse of war supplies and OUN literature³. Vasyl Andryuk, the rector of one of the churches from the Vyzhnytsia district, admitted in December 1947 that he had established relations with the leader of the Vyzhnytskia district branch of the OUN “Yarema” (perhaps the leader Vashkovetsky district branch of the OUN (06 – 11.1947) Ivan Tsere-niuk-“Yarema”) and his bodyguard “Romko”. On their behalf, he provided his apartment for underground meetings, supplied them with food, and his wife Vasylyna was a liaison and spy of the underground. Moreover, in the course of the investigation, the Chekists established that V. Andryuk was a stationman in the villages Milijeve of Vyzhnytsia district and Berezhnytsia village of Vashkivtsi district⁴. There were many such priests who actively cooperated with the underground in the Carpathian region. They were mainly engaged in education⁵.

That is why the Chekists constantly carried out agent surveillance of Greek-Catholic priests. Despite all repressive measures, the special services continued to find hiding places of nationalists in the houses of Greek Catholic priests, and weapons (rifles, cartridges) were seized from some churches. In the Goshiv monastery of the Stanislav region, five Oun residents were detained, who were hiding among the monks, and a significant amount of anti-soviet literature was seized. In general, the inhabitants of this monastery maintained a close connection with the underground of the OUN. Churches and monasteries also per-

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 20 (1960). Спр. 1. Арк. 3–4, 26–27, 37–38, 43–44; Ф. 71. Оп. 6. Спр. 195. Арк. 7–12; Спр. 177. Арк. 118–119; Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 33. Арк. 375.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 100. Арк. 264, 268–269.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 56. Арк. 71.

⁴ Там само. Т. 33. Арк. 119.

⁵ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 33. Арк. 121–122, 125–127; Т. 100. Арк. 269; Ф. 71. Оп. 6. Спр. 490. Арк. 57зв–58.

formed the function of preserving food. During a military operation on March 21, 1950, in Dorozhiv village (Dubliany district, Drohobych region), two caches of food were uncovered, and the priest of the local church, Mykhailo Matychak, was arrested¹.

Local priests provided the underground with a place to live during almost the entire struggle. Thus, according to the testimony of Bohdan Figol (parish priest of the villages of Berloga, Svarychiv, Broshniv of Stanislav region), he hid the leader of the Carpathian regional branch of the OUN Yaroslav Melnyk-“Robert” in his apartment for some time, and also communicated with the leadership of the OUN: Vasyl Sydor- “Shelest”, Mykola Tverdokhlib-“Hrim”, Bohdan Yatskiv-“Denys”, Ivan Lavriv-“Nechay” and representatives of the women’s referencing Nina Posatska-“Ulyana” and Nadia Posatska-“Olenka”. It is also important that his relatives – Ivan Gudzovatyi-“Dnistrovyi” and his wife, who hid there from 1944 to 1946 and were fully supplied with products from Bohdan’s father, found a cache in his house². The priest of the village of Pukiv Pasmak arranged a hiding place for Roman Shukhevych, Adam Yanovsky (Rohatyn district) for “Peter”³. Since 1944, Volodymyr Diyavyl (so in the document), the priest of the village of Voloshinovo (Staryi Sambir district, Drohobych region), maintained contact with Ukrainian nationalists. In his house during 1947–1948, he repeatedly hid the propaganda officer of the Sambir district leadership of the OUN Petro Havrylyk-“Verkhovynts”. Father, at the request of the underground, at the end of 1948, offered a prayer for the fallen soldier, which was attended by 30 of his armed comrades. In addition, in the summer of 1949, he provided medical assistance to wounded soldiers and provided them with a first-aid kit. As a result of the military operation on June 8, 1950, a large amount of nationalist literature, which he wrote personally, was found in his father’s attic. He was arrested for close cooperation with the underground⁴.

The clergy actively helped the underground not only with shelter, food, clothing, but also with money. For example, the priest Yaroslav Sovyak of Broshniv village of the Rozhnytiv District has repeatedly given money to swindlers. The amount of one benefit was no more

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 4 (1957). Спр. 1485. Арк. 69

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 33. Арк. 400–401.

³ Там само. Т. 56. Арк. 69.

⁴ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 4. Спр. 485. Арк. 79.

than 50 rubles¹. The depositors received money on Easter 1948 from priest Kiselevskiy (Stilsko Mykolaivi district, Drohobych Region)².

The Greek Catholic clergy actively helped former members of the OUN in the 1960s³. This applies even to those clergy who have formally united with the Russian Orthodox Church; they continued to cooperate with the underground. The priest S. Chyzhovych of Dolishnyi Luzhok, Drohobych district (until 1939, a member of UNDO and OUN) in 1944 established contact with Ukrainian nationalists, constantly hid them in a hiding place set up in his yard, sent a prayer for the killed and arrested underground⁴.

Already in 1945, there were priests in the underground, who were under the protection and support of the OUN and UPA⁵. It is known that the abbots of the churches of Kniagynychi and Pomonyat villages went underground and hid behind forged documents because they refused to sign the consent to convert to Orthodoxy⁶. It is worth noting that at that time, priests conducted liturgies in UPA departments, buried dead rebels, etc. Having fallen into the hands of the NKVD, they endured brutal torture without revealing organizational secrets. Mostly, all spiritual issues were decided by the priests of those parishes on the territory of which the structures of the OUN and the UPA were located. In addition, the UPA departments had their own chaplains who performed all religious rites. Undoubtedly, the presence of the priest among the nationalists had an important moral, psychological and educational significance. Various duties were entrusted to them: to preach the Gospel, to crown soldiers, to hide insurgents. Certain clerics took a direct active part in the Ukrainian liberation movement. For example, the priest of Kryvorivnia village, Luka Dzeba—"Bohuslav", was appointed the propaganda referent of the Kosiv supra-district lead of the OUN⁷. In 1946, he appeared with a confession, did not give any evidence, formally transferred to the Russian Orthodox Church, settled in

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 33. Арк. 387.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 4. Спр. 1485 (1957). Арк. 26.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 100. Арк. 285; Ф. 71. Оп. 6. Спр. 195. Арк. 3–4; Спр. 221. Арк. 13–14.

⁴ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 12 (1960). Спр. 43. Арк. 228; Ф. 71. Оп. 6. Спр. 187. Арк. 14; Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 33. Арк. 86; Т. 55. Арк. 59.

⁵ Там само. Арк. 233.

⁶ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 3. Спр. 376. Т. 81. Арк. 148.

⁷ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 56. Арк. 71.

Zhabje village until 1951 and maintained connections with the underground¹.

In the underground of the Carpathian region, both children of priests and persons with complete or incomplete spiritual education worked. Priest Mykhailo Blozovsky left the church service in 1945 and went underground. Here, for a long time, he was the proofreader of the district technical unit – “printing house named after Lopatynskiyi in Stryi”².

On December 17, 1949, the Bukachiv RV of the MDB conducted an operation near Kozari village of Bukachiv district, in which “Luka” – the head of the communication point between the Carpathian regional branch of the OUN and Roman Kravchuk-“Petro” died. “Luka” himself, according to law enforcement agencies, was born in the Ternopil region and was a monk or a monk. During 1944–1945, he was part of the personal guard of a member of the OUN branch Dmytro Hrytsai-“Paliy”, later he transferred to the personal guard of the leader of the Carpathian regional branch of the OUN Y. Melnyk-“Robert” and, in the end, was a liaison of V. Sydor-“Shelest”³.

In August 1951, the UMDB of the Lviv Region arrested the priest Ivan Chugaida (born in 1911 in Patsykyv village, Stanislav District), who during 1945 – May 1946 was in the nationalist underground, in particular the militants of “Syzoho”, used pseudonym “Batko”, was armed with a rifle and a pistol. At the end of 1946, I. Chugaida came out of the underground due to his health and became legal. Until 1948, he was in an illegal situation, so with the help of priest Yuryk, he acquired fictitious documents and before his arrest served as a priest in Lopatyn village, Lviv region⁴.

149 priests and 37 monks were arrested and convicted in the Stanislav region of the Special Service during 1944–1954 for their direct participation in anti-Soviet nationalist activities. In the five-volume book “Rehabilitated by history. Ivano-Frankivsk region”, provided information on the convictions of 73 priests for anti-Soviet activities in 1945–1954, including 31 for helping the OUN and UPA. Others,

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 19 (1959). Спр. 2. Арк. 439.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 12 (1960). Спр. 43. Арк. 228; Ф. 3. Оп. 246 (1953). Спр. 4. Арк. 118; Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 33. Арк. 86; Т. 55. Арк. 59.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Спр. 713. Арк. 103.

⁴ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Спр. 816. Арк. 89–91.

which did not enter the book, were either not rehabilitated, or for some reason were not submitted.

In a number of documents, the Chekists noted that the fight against the Ukrainian nationalist underground took place in parallel with the development of those Greek-Catholic priests who remained at large¹. At the same time, the Chekists tried to recruit agents from among the former clergy to develop the Greek-Catholic clergy, who had transferred to the Russian Orthodox Church, and to identify among them persons who maintained connections with underground². As of February 1950, 282 priests lived in the Drohobyt'sk region, of which 277 signed consent to convert to Orthodoxy (one bishop, 26 deans, 250 priests). The opposition to the Orthodox Church consisted of only two priests who conducted the Service illegally, and three who belonged to the "initiative group" (one of them did not conduct the activity due to age and illness). In addition, there were nine more Greek Catholic priests and one monk who refused to convert to Orthodoxy and continue their priestly mission, but still served illegally and helped Ukrainian nationalists financially. For example, in the summer of 1948, priest Ivan Mashchak from Bakivtsi village (Novo – Strily district, Drohobych region) sent a prayer for the fallen soldier Dyakun and delivered a sermon in a nationalist spirit³. In 1951, 243 priests who joined the Russian Orthodox Church lived in the Stanislav region, among whom the security forces discovered and took 31 persons into the development⁴. In total, during 1944–1954, 149 clerics, mainly priests, and 37 monks were arrested and convicted by the MGB bodies with direct participation and carrying out anti-soviet nationalist activities. Among those arrested and convicted were Bishop Khomyshyn of the Stanislav Diocese, his deputy Lyatishevskiyi, rector of the Stanislav Theological Seminary Boychuk and other clerics whose cases were investigated by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR (Kyiv)⁵. Only during August 1944 – October 1945, 31 priests and eight deans were arrested in the

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 56. Арк. 83.

² Там само. Т. 100. Арк. 285.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 4 (1957). Спр. 1485. Арк. 20–21.

⁴ Там само. Оп. 19 (1959). Спр. 2. Арк. 442.

⁵ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 56. Арк. 83.

Drohobych region (five were released for operational reasons)¹. Therefore, in the period 1950–1952, the Ukrainian Security Service of the Drohobych region arrested and then convicted 40 priests of the Greek Catholic Church, who were actively supporting the liberation movement².

Ukrainian nationalists carefully recorded all the crimes of the Soviet authorities against the church, in particular, they photographed broken chapels and crosses that were erected in villages and fields. This was done in order to further show the criminality of the Communist Party system to the whole world³. At the same time, the Chekists themselves noted that the OUN underground intensified opposition to the reunification of the Greek-Catholic clergy with the Russian Orthodox Church⁴. Undoubtedly, the priests opposed the reunification, but the actions of representatives of the Soviet administration turned against it not only the population, but also the clergy⁵.

The underground used the following tactics in the church issue: a) to prove that the struggle for the USSD is at the same time a struggle for freedom of belief; b) freedom of conscience and religion will be fully ensured only in USSD; c) to mobilize all believers of different cults for a joint struggle against the USSR as a state in which there is no freedom of belief, where the “state” faith is forcibly imposed; e) to make the issue of faith another direction of the struggle of the Ukrainian people against the occupier, not to allow any compromises. To do everything so that the church also joins the struggle for USSD⁶. The underground carried out explanatory work directed against reunification⁷.

Nevertheless, in some villages the Greek-Catholic clergy not only joined the Russian Orthodox Church, but also began to support the measures of the Soviet authorities. They advocated signing up for a loan, handing over government supplies, and other measures and campaigns of the Soviet authorities. Even more, such persons actively cooperated with special services. In particular, the priest Mykola Aronets

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 71. Оп. 6. Спр. 489. Арк. 20.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 12 (1960). Спр. 43. Арк. 231–232.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 43. Арк. 264.

⁴ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 7. Спр. 4. Т. 6. Арк. 344.

⁵ Там само. Арк. 128–129.

⁶ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 33. Арк. 410.

⁷ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 16. Оп. 1. Спр. 5. Арк. 4.

was recruited in Storona village of the Pidbuz district and betrayed two underground members who were killed and the printing house of the Drohobych District Office was discovered, eight people were arrested, including two former Greek-Catholic priests¹.

The underground warned the priests who had “reunited” that if they did not sever ties with the Russian Orthodox Church, they would be killed. To reinforce the seriousness of their goals, assassinations were carried out, which were preceded by repeated warnings of². It should be noted that the underground fought against those priests who not only joined the Russian Orthodox Church, but also actively cooperated with the repressive and punitive authorities. Typical in this regard was the murder in the summer of 1947 of the dean of the Bolekhiv deanery Yevgen Korol, who refused to comply with the order of the OUN to return to the Greek Catholic Church. After the murder, the underground posted leaflets containing threats to those priests who joined the Russian Orthodox Church³. This, for example, happened with the parishes of Kalno and Tysiv villages of Bolekhiv District⁴. Some fathers, having received an order from the Security Council of the OUN to sever ties with H. Kostelnyk’s initiative group, responded with letters. Thus, one elderly father wrote that: “he is still a faithful Greek Catholic and his unfortunate people, and with the unfortunate group Fr. I have nothing in common with Kostelnik”. He ended the letter with revolutionary slogans: “Will to the people! Will to the man! Glory to Ukraine! Glory to the Heroes”⁵.

Nationalists actively conducted outreach work, followed those priests who had joined the Russian Orthodox Church, and collected information about how they managed the service⁶. They even developed recommendations to boycott all priests who joined the Russian Orthodox Church, or signed an application to join H. Kostelnyk’s initiative group. In case of forced closing of churches, the people had to open them by force, continue to pray, at the same time it was recommended to decipher in front of the population the priests who joined

¹ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 20 (1960). Спр. 1. Арк. 87.

² Там само. Оп. 32 (1960). Спр. 5. Арк. 97.

³ Там само. Оп. 19 (1959). Спр. 2. Арк. 441; Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 56. Арк. 79.

⁴ ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 372. Т. 20. Арк. 126.

⁵ Там само. Спр. 376. Т. 78. Арк. 305зв.

⁶ Там само. Арк. 26–27.

the initiative group and were agents of the special services¹. The underground fought against those priests who not only joined the Russian Orthodox Church, but actively cooperated with repressive and punitive bodies.

At the same time, it should be noted that after the transition of clerics to the ROC, the underground evaluated them as potential agents, and therefore they did not use their material support. There were also cases when, as a result of large-scale repressive and punitive operations, the priesthood was intimidated and refused to help the underground².

In this confrontation, the position of the third party is important – the local population, which did not even want to hear about any reunification with the Orthodox Church. At the same time, the leadership of the OUN and UPA called to actively involve civilians in the fight against the Orthodox Church. It was emphasized the need to recall those who lead the service in Russian or who converted to Orthodoxy. The procedure of “withdrawal” meant expulsion from the village. Parishioners, in the case of sending in Russian, had to demonstratively leave the churches³.

Western Ukrainian society in general remained deeply religious. No prohibitions, threats and terror could separate the majority of believers from religion and the church. The majority of the population continued to observe religious norms in everyday life. At the same time, the authorities closely linked the struggle with the Ukrainian liberation movement to the liquidation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, which stood in the way of the Sovietization of the region and was a component of the Resistance Movement. That is why the biggest problem of the authorities was the cooperation of the GCC and the Ukrainian liberation movement. Communist Party bodies established the structures of the Russian Orthodox Church and did everything to keep the activities of the clergy under strict state control.

Vasyl Ilnytskyi, Liliia Hrynyk, Natalia Ilnytska

¹ ДАЛО. Ф. II-5001. Оп. 6. Спр. 52. Арк. 59–60; ГДА СБУ. Ф. 13. Спр. 376. Т. 88. Арк. 15–16.

² ГДА СБУ. Ф. 2-Н. Оп. 108 (1954). Спр. 2. Т. 1. Арк. 307.

³ ГДА СБУ. Ф.13. Спр. 372. Т. 18. Арк. 140.

THE HISTORY OF THE WESTERN UKRAINIAN PEASANTRY THROUGH THE PRISM OF STALIN'S COLLECTIVISATION

The history of Ukraine in the second half of the 20th century and its western lands, using new methodological approaches, were characterized by scientists V. Baran¹, V. Danylenko², V. Lytvyn³, O. Rublev, and Yu. Cherchenko⁴, B. Yarosh⁵, O. Maliarchuk⁶ and others. The main directions of research in the Western Ukrainian region in the first post-war years and the ways of further scientific research are outlined in the works of O. Koliastruk⁷, H. Bodnar⁸, T. Marusyk⁹, R. Popp¹⁰, V. Starka¹¹, V. Futala¹², and others. Ukrainian historians have done

¹ Баран В. К. Україна: новітня історія (1945–1991 рр.). Львів: Ін-т українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича НАН України, 2003. 670 с.

² Даниленко В. М. Україна в умовах системної кризи (1946–1980-і рр.). Київ: Альтернативи, 1999. 304 с.

³ Литвин В. М. Історія України: [в 3 т.]. Т. 3. Кн. 2: Новітній час (1914–2004). Київ: Альтернативи, 2005. 640 с.

⁴ Рубльов О. С., Черченко Ю. А. Сталінщина й доля західноукраїнської інтелігенції (20–60-ті роки ХХ ст.). Київ: Наукова думка, 1994. 350 с.

⁵ Ярош Б. О. Тоталітарний режим на західноукраїнських землях. 30–50-ті роки ХХ ст. (історико-політологічний аспект). Луцьк: Надстир'я, 1995. 176 с.

⁶ Малярчук О. М. Тоталітаризм проти західноукраїнського села. Івано-Франківськ: Місто НВ, 2008. 228 с.; Малярчук О. Соціально-економічні процеси в західному регіоні Української РСР (1964–1991). Івано-Франківськ: Симфонія форте, 2015. 548 с.

⁷ Коляструк О. Історія повсякденності в сучасній українській історіографії. *Україна ХХ ст.: культура, ідеологія, політика*. Київ, 2012. Вип. 17. С. 8.

⁸ Боднар Г. Львів. Щоденне життя міста очима переселенців із сіл (50–80-ті роки ХХ ст.). Львів: Видавничий центр ЛНУ імені Івана Франка, 2010. 340 с.

⁹ Марусик Т. В. Західноукраїнська гуманітарна інтелігенція: реалії життя та діяльності (40–50-ті роки ХХ ст.). Чернівці: Вид-во "Рута", 2002. 463 с.

¹⁰ Пopp P. П. Інтелігенція Львова в 1944–1953 роках (історико-соціологічний аспект): автореф. дис. ... канд. іст. наук: 07.00.01. Львів, 2003. С. 15.

¹¹ Старка В. В. Повсякденне життя західноукраїнського села в умовах суспільних трансформацій 1939–1953 рр. Тернопіль: Осадца Ю. В. 2019. 549 с.

¹² Футала В. Західноукраїнські реалії ХХ ст. у сучасних повсякденнознавчих студіях. *Повсякденне життя населення західних земель України у перші повсенні роки (1944–1953)* / відп. ред. В. Ільницький. Львів–Горунь, 2021. С. 9–31.

much work in studying various aspects of the daily life of the population of the western lands of Ukraine during the 20th century. Under the leadership of the author's team, V. Ilnytsky created a general study, "Everyday life of the population of the western lands of Ukraine in the first post-war years (1944–1953)" (Lviv – Torun, 2021)¹. However, many scientific problems require thorough further research.

Returning the population of the western regions of Ukraine to a peaceful life and rebuilding the economy was extremely difficult and controversial. The three-year German occupation, the destruction caused by the war, and the rejection of the return of Stalin's bloody regime further complicated the socio-political and socioeconomic situation in the western region of Ukraine. During German rule, the industry and agriculture of the western regions of Ukraine suffered great losses. A significant part of the population was taken to Germany, and many villages and towns were burned entirely. As a result of protracted fighting from February to October 1944, many peasant farms and crops were destroyed.

During the war, the number of peasant farms in seven western regions of Ukraine significantly decreased. According to our calculations, from 1941 to 1945, their number decreased by 163 224, including in Volyn Oblast – from 177 791 to 153 712, in Rivne Oblast – from 194 263 to 174 126, in Ternopil Oblast – from 298 338 to 263 413, in Lviv Oblast – from 181 495 to 155 184, in Drohobych Oblast – from 169 197 to 150 557, in Stanislav Oblast – from 235 969 to 214 091, in Chernivtsi Oblast – from 174 001 to 156 750². A significant part of the population was forced to live in dugouts, and the measures taken by the military did not ensure the timely demining of cultivated areas, which delayed and made it impossible for the peasants to harvest³.

Evidence of the challenging state of agriculture is the information about the availability of traction power for the peasants. At the end of 1944, one traction unit accounted for almost three peasant yards⁴. The

¹ Повсякденне життя населення західних земель України у перші повоєнні роки (1944–1953): колективна монографія / відп. ред. В. Ільницький. Львів – Торунь, 2021. 380 с.

² Центральний державний архів громадських об'єднань України (далі – ЦДАГО України). Ф.1. Оп. 23. Спр. 3501. Арк. 2.

³ Там же. Спр. 1054. Арк. 3.

⁴ Історія Української РСР. Голов. ред. К. К.Дубина. У 2 т. Т. 2. Київ: Наукова думка, 1967. С. 578.

situation was particularly critical in the Stanislav, Lviv, and Chernivtsi mountainous regions, where one head of working livestock accounted for nine to ten peasant yards¹. In the Chernivtsi Oblast, the provision of farmyards with draft power was 21%, and half of the horses were sick and not available for work. In the Lviv Oblast before the start of the German-Soviet war, 30% of horseless peasant households were counted, and on January 1, 1945 – 75%. In 1944, in this region, compared to 1941, the area of cultivated land decreased by 100 thousand hectares, and the peasants often used cows as labor². The situation was complicated by the desire of the restored district committees of the CP(b)U to mobilize the maximum amount of traction power for the front-line needs of the army.

In order to record the damage caused by the German occupation, appropriate commissions were created in the region, which immediately began their work³. The losses of collective farms of the Ternopil Oblast amounted to 1 billion 99 million 448 thousand rubles. All pre-war collective farms were destroyed. The total cost of damage to 38 machine-tractor stations in the region reached 27 million 230 thousand rubles⁴. The material losses of the Drohobych region reached 1 billion 850 million 774 thousand rubles; of this amount, 374 million 854 thousand rubles were allocated to the structures of the Narkomzem⁵.

During the war, the village suffered substantial human losses. As we can see from the “passports” of the first agricultural artillery, a severe problem was the lack of able-bodied population. For example, in the “Chervona Zirka” (Red Star) farm of the Ustyluh village, located in Ustyluh district, Volyn region, there were 39 people, including 18 women; the rest were teenagers and the elderly; the farm named after Khrushchev in the Povursk village, Manevychiv district there

¹ Сливка Ю. Ю., Масловський В. І., Швагуляк М. М. Возз’єднання західноукраїнських земель з Радянською Україною. АН УРСР. Інститут суспільних наук. Київ: Наукова думка, 1989. С. 408.

² ЦДАГО України. Ф.1. Оп. 30. Спр. 279. Арк. 10.

³ Державний архів Львівської області (далі – ДАЛО). Ф. П-5001. Оп. 2. Спр. 20. Арк. 6.

⁴ Державний архів Тернопільської області (далі – ДАТО). Ф. П-1. Оп. 1. Спр. 433. Арк. 14.

⁵ ДАЛО. Ф. П-5001. Оп. 6. Спр. 39. Арк. 1–3.

were 350 people, of which only 116 were non-disabled women¹. In the post-war villages, primarily women, the disabled, the elderly, and children remained.

Mass epidemics complicated the difficulties in the western Ukrainian countryside and the population. At that time, there was an outbreak of various types of typhus. According to the documents, the death rate exceeded the birth rate. True, the Soviet authorities fought this disaster. The available medical personnel were directed to eliminate epidemics, but it was not enough. In the first post-war year, mortality in the Chernivtsi region alone amounted to 27 341 people².

The battles of the Second World War were still taking place in the western regions of Ukraine. The Soviet regime issued a number of resolutions: to the Soviet People's Committee of the Ukrainian SSR – No. 675 “On the delivery of hay from the harvest of 1944” dated June 17, 1944, No. 695 “On procurement of meat, milk, and wool for 1944” dated June 21, 1944; Soviet People's Committee of the USSR – No. 792 “On the procedure for harvesting potatoes and vegetables from the harvest of 1944” dated June 30, 1944, etc. These documents defined the procedure for the mandatory supply of agricultural products to the state by individual peasant farms. The aforementioned resolutions did not apply to farms of collective farmers, workers, employees, or disabled due to old age³. People who did not fulfill excessive tasks regarding the delivery of hay, milk, meat, wool, potatoes, cabbage, carrots, onions, and other agricultural products to the state were subject to repression. The main blow was directed against the wealthy part of the peasantry, confiscating products and raw materials.

On the territory of the region liberated from the fascists, the mobilization of the male population aged 18 to 50 years to join the Red Army, the labor force for the Donbas mines and industrial enterprises of the USSR, immediately began. Per the resolutions of the State Defense Committee No. 6171, “On the mobilization of labor for enterprises of

¹ Державний архів Волинської області (далі – ДАВО). Ф. Р-32. Оп. 3. Спр. 9. Арк. 9, 15.

² Холодницький В.Ф. Вплив політичних процесів на демографічні втрати народонаселення Чернівецької області 1940–1950 рр. // Науковий вісник Чернівецького університету. Вип. 6–7. Чернівці: ЧДУ, 1996. С. 173.

³ Державний архів Чернівецької області (далі – ДАЧО). Ф. П-1. Оп. 9. Спр. 2. Арк. 37; 38; 61; 64.

the People's Commissariat" of July 11, 1944, "On the mobilization of labor for enterprises of the coal industry" of July 18, 1944, the Western Ukrainian regional executive committees and the bureau of regional committees of the CP(b)U Those who were personally responsible for the timely implementation of plans accepted the relevant documents. Only during August-September Chernivtsi region sent 2,600 villagers to the enterprises of the People's Commissariat, who settled there, as a rule, forever¹.

The critical state of affairs in the economy of the region prompted the newest bodies of the Soviet administration to take active economic and military-political actions, which would create conditions for complete mastery of the situation. For this purpose, on December 21, 1944, the Council for Assistance to the Western Regions of the Republic was established as part of the government of the Ukrainian SSR, which included five responsible employees of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U and the Soviet People's Committee of the Ukrainian SSR headed by the deputy chairman of the Soviet People's Committee of the Ukrainian SSR L. Korniiets. Deputy people's commissars and chiefs were approved in 40 republican people's commissariats and departments, for more efficient economic management.

One of the first measures taken by the Soviet authorities in the western regions was providing land to poor peasants, which they had been given even before the attack on the Soviet Union by Nazi Germany. In the newly created Volyn, Drohobych, Lviv, Rivne, Ternopil, and Stanislav oblasts in 1939–1941, 747 000 landless and small-land peasant households received free use of 1 136 000 hectares of land from the state land fund, over 84 000 horses, 76 000 cows, a significant number seed material². On January 15, 1945, 327 300 hectares, or 51%, of the 641 900 hectares of all land were returned to the West Ukrainian peasants. Three hundred thousand poor peasant households received land. As the documents show, this work was planned to be finished by March 1 of the same year³. However, due to bureaucratic delays in land redistribution, the established plan was not implemented on time.

¹ Там само. Спр. 3. Арк. 19.

² Історія Української РСР. У 8 т., 10 кн. Т. 6. Українська РСР у період побудови і зміцнення соціалістичного суспільства (1921–1941). Київ: Наукова думка, 1977. С. 512.

³ ЦДАГО України. Ф.1. Оп. 75. Спр. 4. Арк. 17.

As of April 25, 1945, only 81.4% of peasant households had received land¹, although according to the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine of May 7, 1945, the party and Soviet bodies of the Western Ukrainian region had to complete the return of all Nazi-taken land to the peasants by June 1.

Simultaneously providing land to the peasants, the work aimed at restricting the wealthy, so-called kurkul farms began. The Soviet authorities seized 250 000 hectares of land from them, which were transferred to poor households². The government's position regarding the kurkuls was unambiguous and consisted of consistent economic restrictions and subsequent elimination of it "as a class". This Leninist instruction was again applied in the western regions of the republic.

The AUCP considered the transition to the collectivization of agriculture to be a decisive step in building the foundations of a socialist society both in the USSR and the region we are studying. Resolutions of the Central Committee of the AUCP and the Soviet People's Committee of the USSR "On urgent measures to rebuild the economy in areas liberated from the German occupiers" (August 1943), "On shortcomings in political work among the population of the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR" (September 1944), "On measures to help the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR in the matter of improving mass-political and cultural-educational work" (December 1944) and others defined the main tasks of developing the socioeconomic and socio-political life of the western regions.

Party organizations controlled by the center played the leading role in implementing all critical measures for the reconstruction, development, and "socialist reconstruction" of agriculture. In order to bring the communist leadership closer to the local population, peasant meetings were held in all Western Ukrainian regions. From the first days after the liberation of the region from the German occupiers, regional and district committees of the CP(b)U, under cover of law enforcement agencies, started work on "supporting the initiative of poor and middle-class households", which wanted to unite into collective farms.

¹ Там само. Оп. 30. Спр. 279. Арк. 40.

² Сеньків М.В. Західноукраїнське село: насильницька колективізація 40 – поч. 50-х рр. XX ст. Львів: Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича НАН України, 2002. С. 116.

A characteristic and traditional feature of the new rural management system was the combination of political efforts of the party and authorities. In the “passports” of the first agricultural artillery, along with the signature of the head of the executive committee of the district Council of Workers’ Deputies, the signatures of the secretary of the district committee and the representative of the regional committee of the KP(b)U must be included¹. Collective farms were inextricably linked with party structures; the party apparatus had all the power in them but did not take responsibility for current affairs. From the very beginning, the collective farms were under the strict protection of the party; authorized officers were attached to them “for daily assistance and strengthening of labor discipline.”² With the patronage of industrial enterprises and institutions of the city, military units were introduced over all organized individual, collective farms³.

The purposeful work of party organizations and Soviet bodies in the first post-war years did not produce the desired results. So, in 1944, only one collective farm was organized in the Rivne region – named after Vatutin of the Mezhyrich district⁴. At the beginning of the spring of 1945, their regional number reached only 38⁵. Only ten co-operative craft societies were organized in the Lviv region, which united 358 poor and middle-class households. At the end of 1945, there were only 12 collective farms in the region, which included 392 households (651 non-disabled persons)⁶. In 1945, all 12 collective farms of the Lviv region reported on the results of economic activity; by the way, the reports were revised several times. Plans to provide milk were not fulfilled because the military units handed over sick trophy cows. Therefore, 27 heads of cattle and 35 horses were sold on the market. At the same time, 200 collective farm workers, Poles by nationality, left for Poland at the end of the year⁷.

Taking into account the objective conditions of the western region of the republic, the authorities did not unequivocally raise the issue of

¹ ДАВО. Ф. Р-32. Оп. 3. Спр. 9.

² ДАЛО. Ф. Р-165. Оп. 2. Спр. 88. Арк. 62.

³ Там само. Ф. П-3. Оп. 2. Спр. 329. Арк. 166.

⁴ Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України (далі – ЦДАВО України). Ф. Р-27. Оп. 17. Спр. 6511. Арк. 8.

⁵ ЦДАГО України. Ф.1. Оп. 75. Спр. 4. Арк. 34.

⁶ Там само. Оп. 80. Спр. 276. Арк. 126.

⁷ ДАЛО. Ф. Р-165. Оп. 2. Спр. 51. Арк. 1.

immediate restoration and creation of new collective farms. As of April 20, 1945, 98 collective farms and 108 initiative groups were restored and organized. According to other archival documents, on June 1, 1945, 108 collective farms and 157 initiative groups in the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR united about 8,000 peasant households¹. If four collective farms were organized in the Stanislav region in 1945, then in the following year, the number reached 17 farms². As of August 12, 1945, there were 12 collective farms in the Volyn region³. As of September 25, 1945, there were 43 collective farms in the Ternopil region, of which eight were organized in the same year. In all collective farms of this region, as archival documents testify, labor discipline was in an unsatisfactory state. Yes, in the collective farm named after Voroshilov, Zalishchysky district, out of 23 non-disabled people, only six people went to work, and the best were those workers who worked from 30 to 40 working days per year⁴. The low yield of collective farmland was the best evidence of “advantages”. The yield of wheat and rye in the collective farms of the Volyn region reached only five quintals per hectare, barley, oats, and millet – 10 quintals⁵.

Collectivization in the countryside began during the Second World War. It immediately took on a coercive character and provoked opposition from the peasantry, the underground network of the OUN, and the UPA departments, which resulted in significant casualties on both sides and slowed it down. It forced the Soviet leadership to put off complete collectivization for the future and start preparing the prerequisites. A trend was observed in the first collective farms during the reporting and election meetings; there were significantly more representatives from the district than the collective farm workers. As a rule, the meetings ended with a “boss’s dinner”, for which up to 10–15% of the collective farm’s annual income was spent⁶.

¹ ЦДАГО України. Ф. 1. Оп. 75. Спр. 4. Арк. 34.

² Державний архів Івано-Франківської області (далі – ДАІФО). Ф. Р-295. Оп. 5. Спр. 268. Арк. 17.

³ ЦДАВО України. Ф. Р-27. Оп. 17. Спр. 6510. Арк. 23.

⁴ Там само. Арк. 32, 37.

⁵ ДАВО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 1. Спр. 973. Арк. 57.

⁶ Державний архів Рівненської області (далі – ДАРО). Ф. Р-189. Оп. 3. Спр. 3. Арк. 38.

From the very beginning, there was a conflict between the middle peasants and the poor (who were called “hires”, “churls”, “drabs”, “poor people” and “old men”). A poor peasant entering a collective farm received ready-made tools, which he often treated carelessly, considering them not his own. At the same time, they participated equally in the distribution of income from the economic activity of the collective farm. The average peasant took better care of his former horse – they would prepare chop, destroy parasitic insects, and give the animal more time to rest.

The right to assess the property of a peasant who joined a collective farm was given to assessment commissions elected by the general assembly of collective farmers. In some cases, they overestimated the cost of means of production; in others – they underestimated, which did not reflect the actual cost¹. Individual collective farm workers, not wanting to get rid of their hard-earned property for free, deliberately destroyed or sold their working cattle and livestock before joining the collective farms².

Often, collective farms were organized at district centers among former collective farm workers and representatives of rural assets who fled the village to have protection from law enforcement agencies due to persecution by the OUN and UPA³.

The Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR and the Central Committee of the CP(b)U noted that a year after the issuance of the resolution of the RSC of the Ukrainian SSR and the Central Committee of the CP(b)U “On the organizational and economic strengthening of collective farms of the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR” dated August 10, 1945, by Soviet, party and land bodies considerable work on the organization of collective farms was carried out in this region. However, only two new collective farms were organized in the Volyn region during the year, five in Drohobych and seven in Rivne. Out of 15 collective farms in the Volyn region, there was not a single one that could demonstrate the advantages of collective farming over individual farming, and the collective farm “Chervonyi prykordonnyk” (Red Frontiersman) due to the lack of timely assistance in establishing labor

¹ ДАЛО. Ф. П-5001. Оп. 19. Спр. 133. Арк. 5.

² ДАЧО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 2. Спр. 530. Арк. 9.

³ ДАРО. Ф. П-400. Оп. 3. Спр. 250. Арк. 17.

discipline, disintegrated¹. During the same time, 20 initiative groups for creating collective farms disbanded in the Drohobych region. As of September 1, 1946, the number of collective farms in the Lviv region was 44. They had 1 496 peasant farms and 2 595 non-disabled people. As of August 1, of the same year, 21 collective farms were operating in the Stanislav region².

From the first days of the collective farm movement, the Soviet party and land authorities formally and superficially approached the creation of farms. So, in the Radekhiv district of the Lviv region, during the organization of the collective farm named after Khrushchev received 37 applications from MTS workers, the brewery, and district institutions. Of the submitted applications, only four were from peasant farms, and four female collective farm women worked³.

District committees of the CP(b)U, trying to report on the work done on time, allowed “harmful practice” when employees of various organizations, school teachers, and other persons who had no industrial ties to collective farms were formally accepted into collective farms. In particular, I. Zakharchenko, the head of the agriculture department of the Rozhniativ district of the Stanislav region, ordered his subordinates to immediately join the New Life collective farm, which had only four peasants⁴.

The resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) “On the Council for the Affairs of Collective Farms” of October 8, 1946, provided for the creation of a particular body under the USSR government called to solve the issue of collective farm construction, to give an objective assessment of the work on the selection and placement of managers personnel, to establish strict control over compliance with the Charter of Agricultural Artillery. The collective farm council had its representatives, as controllers from the center, independent of local authorities, in the republics, regions, and regions. T. Sokolov, the representative of the Council for Collective Farm Affairs under the Government of the USSR in the Ukrainian SSR, was addressed with voluminous reports on the progress of inspections, in which the facts of mass violations discovered

¹ ЦДАВО України. Ф. Р-27. Оп. 17. Спр. 6554. Арк. 19, 20.

² Там само. Арк. 21, 75, 81.

³ ЦДАГО України. Ф. 1. Оп. 80. Спр. 276. Арк. 127.

⁴ ЦДАГО України. Ф. 1. Оп. 30. Спр. 1329. Арк. 14.

by regional representatives were stated. After the war, another powerful control body was created – the Main State Inspectorate for Establishing the Yield of Agricultural Crops under the State Plan of the USSR, whose duties included combating the understatement of yield information, notes in reports.

In order to prepare the Western Ukrainian countryside for mass collectivization, much attention was paid to the creation and adjustment of the machine-tractor stations. At the beginning of February 1945, 152 MTS were already working, with 117 tractors and 200 horses¹. Simple calculations show disappointing data about insufficient farm traction units in the first post-war years. This state of affairs prompted the peasants themselves to make non-standard decisions. Therefore, in the spring of 1945, 127 cow yokes were created in the Vyzhnytsia district of the Chernivtsi region, which took 5 000 tons of manure to the fields². Moreover, in the same region, in February 1945, 232 forges were organized, which, with the help of MTS, repaired the agricultural property of the peasants. Before the start of spring fieldwork, they repaired 24 000 harrows and 17 796 plows³.

In the report notes of the Western Ukrainian regional committees to the Central Committee of the CP(b)U, dated 1945, the question was raised about the need to create political departments in the MTS, which “are necessary now in order to prepare the ground for the organization of collective farms, to study the attitudes of the peasants, to prevent penetration into collective farms of the enemies of the Soviet government, especially the kurkuls. Comprehensively support the poor and middle-class element and laborers who aspire to join collective farms”⁴. In addition to economic functions, MTS was entrusted with another, no less crucial political task. However, political departments at MTS were organized a few years later.

Despite the critical state of agriculture, a significant indicator of the results of command-administrative and repressive management methods in the western region of the republic was the early implementation of grain procurement plans in the first post-war years. The regional and district committees of the CP(b)U took decisive measures regarding

¹ Там само. Спр. 279. Арк. 11.

² ДАЧО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 9. Спр. 17. Арк. 11.

³ Колгоспник України. *Буковина перед сівбою*. 1945. 10 лютого.

⁴ ЦДАГО України. Ф. 1. Оп. 30. Спр. 279. Арк. 12–13.

the “immediate trip to the villages of the party councils”¹. The best party, Soviet and economic leaders, for the successful implementation of the state grain procurement plan in 1944 were awarded combat awards by the USSR. Thus, only in the Stanislav region by decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR dated February 1, 1945, 57 people were awarded the Order of the Patriotic War of the First Degree, and 16 people were awarded the Order of the Patriotic War of the Second Degree². In the Lviv Region, 26 people were awarded similar state awards³.

Pumping out agricultural products from an impoverished post-war village in the western region could repeat the terrible pictures of the famine of 1932-1933 on the territory of Ukraine. Several local regional committees of the party approved additional tasks for donating bread to the Red Army fund. By the resolution of the bureau of the Chernivtsi regional committee of the CP(b)U “On the state of grain supply in the districts of the Chernivtsi region” dated October 10, 1944, an additional 100 000 poods of bread were planned in addition to the mandatory deliveries⁴. It is difficult to understand what consequences such a policy of the Party-Soviet government could have led to if the organized underground struggle of the OUN and UPA departments had not stood in the way of it.

As of October 5, 1945, according to the summary of the Plenipotentiary Commissariat of the USSR in the Ukrainian SSR on the implementation of the bread procurement plan for all sources of income, the plan was fulfilled by 108.8% in Lviv oblast, in Chernivtsi oblast – by 102.3%, Drohobych oblast – by 101.4%, Ternopil oblast – by 89%, Stanislav oblast – by 83.9%, Volyn oblast – by 82.1%, Rivne oblast – by 79%, while in Kirovohrad oblast by only 57.2%, in Kharkiv oblast – by 51%, in Zaporizhia oblast – by 50.9%, in Poltava oblast – by 49.9%, in Dnipropetrovsk oblast – by 47.1%⁵. The forced pace of grain procurement undermined the already challenging situation in agriculture in the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR.

¹ ЦДАГО України. Ф.1. Оп. 30. Спр. 279. Арк. 12–13.

² ДАІФО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 1. Спр. 188. Арк. 5–8.

³ ДАЛО. Ф. П-3. Оп. 1. Спр. 308. Арк. 11–45.

⁴ ДАЧО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 9. Спр. 82. Арк. 2.

⁵ Радянська Україна. Зведення Уповнаркомзагу СРСР по Українській РСР про виконання плану хлібозаготівель по всіх джерелах надходження. 1945. 9 жовтня.

To solve the problems of providing draft power for peasant farms, the Central Committee of the CP(b)U advised peasants to create yokes. In the first post-war years, Soviet authorities and party organizations widely supported spouses – traditional forms of peasant mutual aid. In the spring of 1944, 10 819 yokes were organized in the Chernivtsi region¹. In the Ternopil region in 1945, 54 807 yokes assisted in planting 65 429 poor horseless households². In 1946, 35 000 spouses worked in the Lviv region, who “provided assistance to the families of Red Army soldiers, demobilized and victims of gangs”. In the same year, 29 700 yokes worked in the Stanislav region³.

Another common form of peasant mutual aid in the western Ukrainian countryside was public currents⁴.

However, several party, Soviet, and economic leaders in the region did not see the spouses as “socialist aid to the poor” but regarded them as a “hidden kurkul cabal”⁵. They insisted on such an assessment in their systematic information messages to the center. Practice showed that conjugal groups were unstable economic associations and often disintegrated after carrying out the corresponding seasonal work⁶.

Resolution of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U and the National Committee of the Ukrainian SSR “On measures for the reconstruction and further development of the economy in the Lviv, Stanislav, Drohobych, Ternopil, Rivne, Volyn, and Chernivtsi regions of the Ukrainian SSR in 1945” from May 7, 1945, the main form of production cooperation in the village was recognized as land communities, which were imposed on the peasants by the state from above and were supposed to cover absolutely all settlements. In each village, where there were at least 25 peasant farms, land communities were actively created, the procedure of which was determined by the Statute, which was subject to registration by local authorities⁷.

¹ ЦДАГО України. Ф.1. Оп. 75. Спр. 2. Арк. 19.

² ЦДАВО України. Ф. Р-27. Оп. 17. Спр. 6511. Арк. 27.

³ ДАІФО. Ф. Р-295. Оп. 5. Спр. 259. Арк. 73.

⁴ ДАІФО. Ф. Р-295. Оп. 5. Спр. 268. Арк. 24.

⁵ Там само. Ф. П-1. Оп. 1. Спр. 384. Арк. 36.

⁶ ДАЧО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 9. Спр. 2. Арк. 10.

⁷ Богодист І. П. З приводу ролі земельних громад у соціалістичній перебудові західноукраїнського села. Український історичний журнал. 1962. № 3. С. 114–115.

Several land communities were formed in large villages with 200 or more yards. The general meetings managed all economic issues. In the intervals between the general meetings, the Council of the Land Community consisted of three people elected at the general meeting of the peasants. The Charter of the Land Community, “as one of the forms of Soviet democracy”, provided for rights and obligations. They resolved social and economic issues such as using common lands not distributed between individual yards (forests, pastures, ponds, rivers, lakes, hay-fields, cattle drives, watering holes, and stone quarries). New forest plantations were carried out by the members of the community in order to consolidate ravines and sands. The community had to maintain roads, log roads, bridges, and reclamation structures in good condition, monitor compliance with fire prevention measures, and create public fire stations. It provided help in cultivating the land for specific categories of peasants, particularly war-disabled people, elderly people, horseless farms, etc. The land community had the rights of a legal entity and, therefore, could acquire movable and immovable property. Its activities were formalized by the Statute, which became legally binding after its registration in the executive committee of the district Council of Workers’ Deputies. The charter was adopted at a general meeting of villagers with the mandatory participation of a responsible representative from the district¹.

Land communities were placed under the control of local authorities and came under the close supervision of the party apparatus. In the specified period, the contradiction between the legislation and the legal consciousness of the peasant community became acute. Formally, these communities had considerable rights, but all issues were decided by party-Soviet bodies. Land communities, from the very beginning, played the role of the leader of the Communist Party’s policy in the countryside and were given the function of conscientious executors of orders from above.

On April 25, 1945, under the leadership of the party and Soviet bodies, 2 501 land communities were organized in the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR, and soon their number almost tripled. Land communities played a significant role in the history of the post-war Western Ukrainian countryside. Realizing their importance in economic, social, and political life, party bodies tried to use them at their dis-

¹ ДАВО. Ф. Р-32. Оп. 3. Спр. 42. Арк. 28.

cretion to subordinate them to their control. Associations existing at that time, which arose before the establishment of Soviet power, were reorganized on new bases and verified by registering the Statute¹.

In practice, land communities could mitigate the negative impact of the new regime's policies. Having rallied to them during the first post-war year, Bukovyna peasants sowed 474 hectares of land, supported horseless farms on an area of 52 626 hectares, and helped 2 808 families harvest and sow winter crops for 35 271 families². In 1946, 957 similar unions of the Lviv region also performed significant work; in particular, they built 278 bridges, repaired 569 km of roads, organized the work of 630 peasant forges, and established the work of 973 grain-cleaning and proofing stations. Thirty-four thousand forty-eight yokes were working under the Zemgromads of the region, which provided assistance to 67 074 horseless peasant households and carried out public sowing on an area of 448 hectares³. Along with the tasks aimed at forming the foundations of the future socialist way of production in the countryside, the Zemgromads performed several purely practical but extremely necessary functions for the peasants.

In 1947, 7 917 land communities in the western regions of Ukraine organized 246 000 horse-drawn teams, cultivating 573 000 hectares of land for horseless peasant farms, families of front-line soldiers, and war invalids⁴. It should be emphasized that the activities of land communities were carried out under the constant control of party bodies and village councils. Along with practical economic activities, the communities performed specific political tasks – they acted as a collective supervisor of the lives of the peasants. They previously prepared them for the mass organization of collective farms and were considered a kind of “bridges” for the collectivization of agriculture in the western regions of Ukraine⁵. The regime's general attack on the western Ukrainian countryside was carried out through traditional peasant organizations, which were put at its service.

¹ Державний архів Закарпатської області (далі – ДАЗО). Ф. П-1. Оп. 1. Спр. 143. Арк. 2.

² ДАЧО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 9. Спр. 45. Арк. 5.

³ ЦДАГО України. Ф.1. Оп. 75. Спр. 174. Арк. 2.

⁴ ЦДАВО України. Ф. Р-27. Оп. 17. Спр. 173. Арк. 46.

⁵ Сливка Ю. Ю., Масловський В. І., Швагуляк М. М. Возз'єднання західноукраїнських земель... С. 412.

In the first post-war years, party and Soviet bodies resorted to tactical measures to sway part of the rural population, primarily the poor and middle peasants, to their side. By planting socialist production relations, the authorities counted primarily on the poor peasantry. Due to the historical development of the western Ukrainian lands, the labor force, as a social basis for the implementation of collectivization in the USSR, constituted a small part of the population in the region and was not an influential force. Priority was given to connecting links between individual peasant farms and collective farms. Through direct administrative influence on land communities, the state got the opportunity to gradually prepare the peasantry for the destruction of individual farms. The application of old proven methods – control by state machine-tractor stations – became a significant lever of influence on the peasantry. Simultaneously with the creation of prerequisites for planting a socialist model of production in agriculture, the leading party and Soviet bodies began work on the restoration of collective farms created in pre-war times.

According to the resolution of the government of the Ukrainian SSR, “On tax benefits for state and local taxes and fees in 1946 for the population of the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR”, dated May 10, 1946, 35.6% of peasant farms in the region were utterly exempted from state taxes¹. The Soviet government, stimulating the work of the first collective farms in the Western Ukrainian region in 1947, provided significant long-term loans for production needs to the newly created collective farms in the amount of 8 970 000 rubles and for the elimination of homelessness – 4 400 000 rubles. One-person peasant farms received 10 million rubles for purchasing agricultural stock and seed materials². In addition, in 1947, 20 200 cows, 5 644 pigs, 7 600 sheep, and a significant part of the agricultural remains exported from Germany were transferred to the collective farms of the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR³.

The republic’s leadership sometimes sent aid in the form of essential goods to the region. Thus, in order to stimulate the harvesting of

¹ Івасюта М. К., Масловський В. І., Мартинюк А. І., Нечитайло В. В. За щастя оновленої землі: Нариси історії колгоспного селянства західних областей УРСР. 1939–1979. Київ: Наукова думка, 1979. С. 58.

² ЦДАВО України. Ф. Р-27. Оп. 17. Спр. 173. Арк. 151.

³ ЦДАГО України. Ф.1. Оп. 75. Спр. 4. Арк. 40.

agricultural products in the Transcarpathian region, the RSC of the USSR, by resolution of December 4, 1945, specially sent cotton fabrics in the amount of 1 600 000 rubles, knitted and hosiery products – 640 000 rubles, toilet soap – 630 000 rubles, handkerchiefs – 600 thousand rubles, leather shoes – 400 thousand rubles, threads – 144 thousand rubles, etc¹. Countertrade began to be widely practiced when purchasing livestock from the population at the rate of 2 kg of corn for 1 kg of meat in live weight².

Party organs and power structures strictly controlled the implementation of state plans. Even their partial non-fulfillment was severely punished by law enforcement agencies using various means of illegal coercion. In August 1946, in the Klevan district of the Rivne region, a group of activists led by the first secretary of the district committee of the CP(b)U V. Yanchuk arrested and detained 35 villagers in the village of Holyshiv because they refused to bring in grain supplies within two hours³.

In the winter of 1946–1947, a famine began in Ukraine, which covered most of the republic's regions, except for the western regions. 2.5 million tons of grain looted from their people were sent from the USSR to Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and other states. Part of the grain was transferred to “fraternal” countries free of charge in the form of “international aid”. According to experts' estimates, about 800 000 people died from the famine in 1946–1947, most of them in the Kharkiv, Zaporizhzhia, Voroshilovhrad, Stalin, and Odesa regions⁴. The famine affected some regions of Bukovyna. In 1947, Chernivtsi region took second place in Ukraine in mortality among children under one year of age. In general, the death toll from hunger in this region amounted to almost 17 000 people⁵.

The analysis of archival materials convinces us that a significant part of the region's population perceived the establishment of Soviet power as a “new yoke”. Mandatory grain deliveries to the state fell on the region's peasantry. For example, in the Khust District of the Transcarpathian Region, a peasant from Fokostovo S. Chymar stated:

¹ Там само. Оп. 30. Спр. 314. Арк. 229.

² ДАЗО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 1. Спр. 598. Арк. 4.

³ ЦДАГО України. Ф. 1. Оп. 75. Спр. 237. Арк. 4.

⁴ Баран В. К. Україна: новітня історія ... С. 60.

⁵ Холодницький В. Ф. Вплив політичних процесів... С. 174.

“Where will I get wheat when I have not sown it? Where can I get milk when we use cows as a working force?”¹. Special directives of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) and the Central Committee of the CP(b)U systematically required district committees, executive committees of district councils of workers’ deputies, and authorized representatives of the Ministry of Procurement of the Ukrainian SSR to supply grain with high-quality wheat, not fodder crops². In the case when among the bags of grain of the new harvest there was a bag of old grain in which a weevil was found, the Zagotzerno point completely lacked the entire lot, and not only the grain where the pest was found³.

Logging in the Carpathians became an even more terrible form of exploitation of the Western Ukrainian peasantry. Part of the peasant yards of the Lviv, Stanislav, Drohobych, Chernivtsi, and Zakarpattia regions was obliged to supply the state with 20-30 cubic meters of timber during the year. It was challenging to carry out such tasks due to the lack of traction power and special equipment for logging in large parts of peasant farms. The non-fulfillment of the plan for such deliveries caused a wave of repression from the authorities and officials of various ranks. The head of the military department of the Lopaty district committee of the CP(b) of the Lviv region A. Torba, the deputy chairman of the district executive committee I. Tyshchenko and a group of Red Army soldiers of the military unit 33905 under the command of junior lieutenant O. Yefimenko arrived in the village of Kustin to “solve the problem” of the non-fulfillment of the logging plan. Being intoxicated, they mocked citizen U. Shostak. His fourteen-year-old son was placed on the snow and shot from a machine gun around him, and his sixteen-year-old daughter was placed near the gravestone cross, where soldiers shot her, but deliberately missed to imitate the shooting⁴.

In order to intimidate the Western Ukrainian population and deprive the OUN of its underground support, the ranks of the UPA, the bodies of the NKVD, and the NKGB used various tactical measures. In each village where the UPA bases are located, 2-3 so-called kurkuls, suspected of having ties with the rebels, were taken into account. Their

¹ ЦДАГО України. Ф. 1. Оп. 75. Спр. 28. Арк. 11.

² ДАВО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 1. Спр. 78. Арк. 78.

³ ДАЧО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 9. Спр. 181. Арк. 2.

⁴ ЦДАГО України. Ф. 1. Оп. 75. Спр. 78. Арк. 29–30.

names were announced at the general meeting of the villagers, they were responsible for any case of “gang manifestations” in the village, and for the slightest “fault”, they were the first to be evicted along with their families. The Soviet authorities continued their search for “enemies”, including these wealthy peasants and their relatives in unique lists as family members of “enemies of the people”. They were subject to immediate export to Siberia, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia¹. To the measures of administrative and political pressure should be added the tax policy, which was applied to the families of “active members of the UPA gangs” in order to force the latter to “come out of the woods”².

However, no warnings could deter fierce resistance from the OUN field network and UPA departments. All this, in turn, led to mass deportations of the Western Ukrainian population to remote regions of the USSR, which took place in several stages. On June 1, 1945, 9 615 families of “bandits and their accomplices”, with a total number of 24,888 people, were evicted from the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR³. In 1947, with the beginning of the complete collectivization of the region, a second wave of repression and deportation to Siberia took place. Deportation reached its climax in the fall of 1947: as of October 26 of the same year, 26 332 families, or 77 791 individuals, were evicted (except Zakarpattia Oblast) to remote regions of the USSR⁴.

The land and property that remained after the eviction of the owners were transferred to the authorities. The procedure for their use was regulated by the secret resolution No. PB – 148/14 c of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR and the Central Committee of the CP(b)U dated October 15, 1947⁵, which obliged the relevant bodies to ensure proper accounting and protection of property, its gradual transfer to collective farms or State institutions.

Often, as archival sources testify, Soviet and party officials disposed of the confiscated property exclusively for their selfish interests. In a letter to the Central Committee of the CPSU(b), the prosecutor of the Vysotsk district of the Rivne region, V. Kenitsky, reported that up

¹ ЦДАГО України. Ф.1. Оп. 75. Спр. 4. Арк. 36.

² ДАЛО. Ф. П-5001. Оп. 2. Спр. 23. Арк. 74.

³ ЦДАГО України. Ф.1. Оп. 75. Спр. 4. Арк. 32.

⁴ Білас І. Г. Репресивно-каральна система... С. 545–546.

⁵ Там само. С. 541.

to 70 head of cattle were “wasted” by party and Soviet organizations, and not a single cow was transferred to the newly organized collective farm¹. I. Prosvirov, the head of the Radekhiv district department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Lviv region, was reprimanded by the regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (b)U for organizing a “black warehouse” at the district department from property seized from “evicted gang families”². Such facts became widespread in the Soviet nomenclature.

A new wave of struggle against kurkuls was caused by the resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR “On the procedure for the procurement of agricultural products in kurkuls’ farms of the Lviv, Stanislav, Drohobych, Ternopil, Rivne, Volyn, and Chernivtsi oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR” dated July 6, 1947. This document established that starting in 1947 year, Kurkul farms must supply agricultural products to the state in increased volumes (grains, sunflowers, soybeans, potatoes, vegetables, hay, meat, and milk – by 50%, wool – by 100%). The deadlines for delivery of products by “Kurkul farms” relative to “labor farms” were reduced by one month for grain, potatoes, vegetables, sunflowers, and hay, for meat and wool – by two months, and for milk - by three months. In addition, 50–100% tax surcharges were established from all sources of income³.

The introduction of a socialist production method in the countryside exacerbated political conflict in the region. The beginning of implementing the agrarian policy of the party and the government caused mass peasant demonstrations. On August 4, 1947, in the village of Nyzhnya-Apsha, Tyachiv District, Zakarpattia Region, several hundred peasants rose in a spontaneous uprising, as a result of which I. Chernychenko, the head of the village council and the local collective farm, was killed. Analyzing this and similar incidents, the head of the Ministry of State Security department for the Transcarpathian region, Colonel O. Chernetsky, concluded that such actions were “a means of fighting against the organization of collective farms and other measures of the Soviet authorities in the countryside”⁴. It should be noted that part of the rank-and-file communists supported the anti-

¹ ЦДАГО України. Ф. 1. Оп. 75. Спр. 237. Арк. 10.

² Там само. Оп. 30. Спр. 568. Арк. 4.

³ ДАЧО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 1. Спр. 449. Арк. 20–21.

⁴ ЦДАГО України. Ф. 1. Оп. 30. Спр. 931. Арк. 12–13.

collective sentiments of the population. In particular, in the village of Kopashne, Khust District, at a meeting of the rural assets, local communists declared: “There is no need to organize collective farms; we will be accused of abusing the people”¹.

The course of the party and the Soviet authorities on the collectivization of agriculture in the western Ukrainian region encountered resistance from the Ukrainian peasantry and the OUN, UPA. The underground directives were based on program tasks approved by the leadership of the OUN. “The organization of Ukrainian nationalists and the Ukrainian insurgent army, “they noted”, are fighting for the Ukrainian Independent Cathedral State and for each nation to live a free life in its independent state... For the destruction of the Bolshevik exploitative serf system in the organization of agriculture. Because the land is the people’s property, the Ukrainian people’s government will not impose one form of land use on the peasants. Therefore, individual and collective land use will be allowed in the Ukrainian state, depending on the will of the peasants”².

At the end of 1947, the party-Soviet authorities, having broken the resistance of the OUN and the UPA, took control of the situation in the lowland areas and ensured the preparation of the prerequisites for the immediate collectivization of the village. Despite the threat of disenfranchisement and deportation, forced collectivization caused stiff resistance from the peasantry. Three years have passed since the establishment of Soviet power in the region, and the pre-war level of collectivization of peasant farms has not been reached.

During 1948–1950 the solid organization of collective farms was in progress. It took place with massive violations of the Charter of Agricultural Artillery and the principle of voluntariness. Its mechanism consisted of the fact that meetings were organized in “politically backward” villages, at which all residents were faced with the fact: “Either there will be a collective farm, or everyone will be evicted to Siberia”. Special detachments, consisting of workers sent to the village, agitated the villagers to join the collective farm and collected applications. The numerical composition of such groups was approved by the party’s district committees and reached several dozen, and

¹ ДАЗО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 1. Спр. 143. Арк. 16.

² Мірчук П. Українська Повстанська Армія. 1942–1952. Документи і матеріали. Львів: Атлас, 1991. С. 270.

sometimes 50-60 people¹. This work lasted several days, rarely – two or three weeks. In parallel with the collectivization action, law enforcement agencies and troops (“red chasers”) were involved, which surrounded the settlement and did not let anyone out of the village without the authorities’ permission. At that time, regional and district parties, Soviet workers, heads of industrial enterprises, and institutions were campaigning, asking people to sign primarily already prepared applications for joining a collective farm. Residents of the village who refused to sign statements were forced to do so using the standard method of “throwing them into a beer hall” under the guard so that the person would “think”. In order not to sign statements, some peasants spoke of their illiteracy, but they were only required to write a “criss-cross”².

Representatives of regional and district authorities forced peasants to join collective farms under the threat of mass physical violence and immediate eviction. Thus, on March 6, 1947, I. Kriuchkov, the chief of staff of the fighter battalion of the district branch of the MDB, while in the village of Bohdanivka, Korets district, Rivne region, with a group of party-Soviet activists, summoned the peasant D. Chernyak to talk about joining the collective farm and offered him to sign a statement. However, he refused to join the collective farm, for which he was beaten. In the same village, two days later, the peasant P. Sukha was summoned for a conversation, and the commissioner of the district branch of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, I. Lychak, offered her to sign an application for joining a collective farm. He punched her in the face for tearing up the statement. The Bureau of the Rivne Regional Committee of the CP(b)U, discussing on April 10, 1947, the issue of violation of Soviet legality in the village of Bohdanivka, Korets district, limited itself to ascertaining the facts and did not take any measures against the violators³. The methods of physical influence on individual, collective farm workers initiated by party and Soviet functionaries remained the main argument of “conviction” in the future⁴.

In the report of the deputy head of the agricultural department of the Lviv Regional Committee of the CP(b)U I. Zahorodniuk, “On the

¹ ДАТО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 1. Спр. 1968. Арк. 50–62.

² Дейчаківський І. Ямниця. Історія села. Доли людей. Львів: Червона калина, 1994. С. 167–168.

³ ЦДАГО України. Ф.1. Оп. 75. Спр. 237. Арк. 2–3.

⁴ ДАЛО. Ф. П-5001. Оп. 10. Спр. 136. Арк. 73.

organizational and economic strengthening of collective farms of the Novy Yarychiv district of the Lviv region” for 1948, we find the following: “Collective farms in this district were not organized, but planted. Peasants went to collective farms, not because of their own convictions in the superiority of collective farming methods, but because they were forced and intimidated”¹.

The Stalinist leadership applied the proven theory of “strengthening the class struggle”. An offensive was launched against the peasantry by the party, Soviet, and law enforcement agencies, supported by the military. The local population resisted material and moral damage from the new government. These are, first of all, the so-called traditional forms of passive resistance of the peasantry: the spread of anti-state rumors and interpretations, closing in a narrow circle of local and family interests and hiding agricultural products and raw materials. The West Ukrainian village, except for individuals, did not go to collective farms.

The absence of a legal framework and the arbitrariness of the power structures led to peasants enrolling as members of collective farms even without their knowledge. Residents of the village were faced with membership and the need to socialize the working remnant. For this purpose, the CP(b)U district committees sent special groups of party-Soviet activists to the villages². Thus, in the village of Horodzhiv, Lviv region, citizen A. Poritska stated that neither she nor her husband had applied for admission to the collective farm named after Zhdanov; they did not attend the meetings and did not consider themselves collective farm workers. However, the deputy head of the district executive committee, O. Zhuk, and the head of the district propaganda department, V. Chortoryzhsky, took away their plow, harrows, cart, and horse. In the village of Lavrykiv of the same region, the resident I. Salo also applied to join the collective farm named after Tymoshenko but did not apply; he was not at the meeting, and “he did not know that he was enrolled in the collective farm. However, at the request of the authorities, he provided seeds for the collective farm for two years in a row”³. In ten collective farms in the Maheriv district and two in the Brody district, part of the collective farm workers was generally ac-

¹ Там само. Ф. П-3. Оп. 2. Спр. 672. Арк. 122.

² ДАЧО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 2. Спр. 1213. Арк. 12.

³ ЦДАГО України. Ф. 1. Оп. 75. Спр. 237. Арк. 2–3.

cepted as members of the collective farm, according to the list, without submitting written applications¹.

According to archival data, the rate of organization of collective farms in the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR was characterized by the following indicators: January 1945 – 38 collective farms, January 1946 – 145, January 1947 – 507, May 1947 – 656, June 1947 – 748, September 1947 – 988, October 20, 1947 – 1331².

From the beginning of the construction of the collective farm, the practice was introduced that during the harvest, the party organizations of the cities, following the decisions of the party's regional committees, had to send workers to the communist districts to help the village. So, out of 200 communists sent to the Ternopil region, only 97 were left. On July 25, 1947, 63% of grain was harvested in individual peasant farms, while in collective farms of the region – 49% and in state farms – 35%, despite the help of people, including from military units³.

In everyday life of the rural population of the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR, the resolution of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U “On the strengthening of mass political work, further development of the collective farm movement and the elimination of the remnants of Ukrainian-German nationalist gangs in the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR” of June 1, 1948, played a role according to the regional committees of the CP(b)U, on October 1, 1948, the total number of collective farms was 3 093, of which 1 142 were “organized” during the last four months⁴.

After the adoption of the said resolution, the collectivization of agriculture in the Volyn region accelerated. At the same time, this process continued to be highly unsatisfactory in other western regions. In Lviv, Drohobych, Stanislav, and Ternopil regions, the pre-war level of collectivization of agriculture was not achieved despite all the efforts of the party-state apparatus. The Stanislav region lagged behind the most: not a single collective farm was organized in the Yaremcha, Vyhoda, Perehin, and Bolehiv districts. In the Drohobych region, the rate of collectivization decreased sharply: 60 farms were created in June, 76 in July, then 11 in August, and 8 in September. Only 2–3% of

¹ Там само. Арк. 90.

² Там само. Спр. 6578. Арк. 91.

³ ЦДАГО України. Ф. 1. Оп. 30. Спр. 867. Арк. 5–6.

⁴ Мальярчук О.М. Тоталітаризм проти... С. 52.

peasant households were united in Stryi, Skole, Slavske, Nizhankiv, Drohobych, Sambir and Sudan-Vyshnian districts, and in 11 districts of the region – from 4 to 11%¹. This situation was primarily explained by the fact that the western Ukrainian peasantry boycotted the resuscitation of the collective farm management system.

The lowest rate of organization of collective farms and initiative groups was in Zakarpattia Oblast, where the collectivization of agriculture was carried out for the first time. As of August 1, 1948, there were 53 collective farms in Zakarpattia. All 16 villages out of 14 districts of the region were collectivized only in Berehove, and the only village of Velyki Berehy was collectivized entirely. In eight other districts, there were one or two collective farms, and in Velykyi Bereznyi, not even one was organized; only two initiative groups were active².

The total liquidation of the western Ukrainian individual peasant economy caused, in turn, actions of violence against individual representatives of the collective farm, party and Soviet assets, and their families on the part of the OUN and the UPA. The threat of punishment was directed directly against the lower-level workers. Peaceful citizens became victims of armed confrontation. Thus, in 1948, 85 “gang demonstrations” were recorded in the Rivne region alone, during which 12 heads of collective farms, 22 members of boards and foremen, and 29 ordinary collective farm workers were killed. In one of the documents seized by the Hoshcha district branch of the MDB of the same region from the district leader of the OUN Kaidash, residents were warned: “All those who have already enrolled in collective farms must leave them immediately, and those who live individually, regardless of the Bolshevik repressions, must stand their ground – no collective farms... In case of non-fulfillment of this order, the rebel army will apply punitive measures against those who joined the collective farm and will punish them with the death penalty and liquidation of property, as enemies of the Ukrainian people”³. The second half of 1948 was marked by a turning point in the complete collectivization of the village and the activation of the underground activities of the OUN and the militants of the UPA. With the help of coercion, in 1948–1949, the Soviet party bodies carried out mass collectivization of agriculture in

¹ ДАЛО. Ф. П-5001. Оп. 9. Спр. 192. Арк. 25–26.

² ДАЗО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 1. Спр. 12. Арк. 6.

³ ЦДАВО України. Ф. Р-27. Оп. 17. Спр. 6633. Арк. 61.

the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR. As of March 20, 1949, the percentage of collectivization in the region was 53 for peasant farms and 60 for arable land¹.

In 1950, the collectivization of the western region of the republic was 91% by the number of peasant farms and 95.6% by the cultivated area, and a year later, it was 95.2% and 99.2%, respectively². The alienation of the cultivable land of the “western” peasant of the mountainous regions, in contrast to the lowlands, delayed the solid planting of the collective farm system for a few more years. In the Ivano-Frankivsk region, as of the end of 1980, 56 mountain villages were not part of collective and state farms; they were not collectivized. Sixty-four thousand people lived in them, including 34 200 non-disabled people, or 10% of the able-bodied population of the region. Under the resolution of the RM of the Ukrainian SSR “On the further improvement of the use of labor resources in the Ivano-Frankivsk region,” dated October 31, 1977, four collective farms and a greenhouse plant were created based on 26 mountain villages and six settlements – five production teams, which joined the existing collective farms. By the end of 1980, “complete collectivization” had spread in 24 mountain villages of the region³.

With the development of collectivization, the farm economy was destroyed. Resolution No. 2467 of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR and the Central Committee of the CP(b)U of August 12, 1950, provided for the resettlement of 131,244 farmsteads of collective farm workers and single owners located on public collective farm lands in 1950–1952. The exact resolution established the quota of immigrants in 1950 at 31,375 yards. The 1950 plan was not fulfilled: 17 071 yards were resettled, 54% of the planned task. Resettlement from farms in the Stanislav, Rivne, Volyn, and Drohobych regions was particularly unsatisfactory⁴.

A considerable number of farmsteads significantly influenced the economic condition of the region. The rural form of farming was a harbinger of farming. It remained one of the most promising for the region, as it most fully corresponded to the historical experience of the native inhabitants. Under favorable conditions, with effective man-

¹ Мальярчук О.М. Тоталітаризм проти... С. 54.

² Сеньків М.В. Західноукраїнське село... С. 146.

³ ДАІФО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 1. Спр. 4609. Арк. 88.

⁴ Мальярчук О.М. Тоталітаризм проти... С. 54.

agement methods and state support with loans and equipment, the producer's personal free labor could lead to rapid economic changes.

However, the program of “socialist construction in the countryside” provided for the liquidation of farms – the prototype of farms. Work on the resettlement of peasants in collectivized villages was actively carried out¹, but it slowed down due to poor technical support with transport and careless management of farm boards. As a rule, farm buildings were quickly dismantled, and the families who lived there were sent to recruit labor force outside the region or were housed in temporary buildings, often unsuitable for living. Moreover, this was at a time when large-scale work was being carried out on the construction of administrative and economic premises of collective farms².

In the second half of the 1940s and early 1950s, the western Ukrainian village experienced tragic times. During the imposition of a socialist economic model, millions lost their property; thousands lost their lives. The Soviet authorities treated such victims cynically. In the territory of former villages and farms, wasteland and bushes remained. In their directives, the regional party committees emphasized that “these places should be plowed as soon as possible, and even tree stumps should be uprooted”³.

The analysis of archival sources testifies to the critical situation of the peasantry of this period and the totalitarian regime's genuine attitude to the region's socioeconomic life. Thus, in 1950, on average, collective farm workers of the Stanislav region were given: money – 1.05 rubles, grain – 1.620 kg, straw – 1 kg, potatoes – 0.550 kg, vegetables – 0.035 kg, hay – 0.100 kg. Fifteen collective farms did not give out grain for a day's work, while 210 collective farms refused to give money to their workers⁴. The situation was similar in the neighboring region's districts⁵. As for the payment of labor accrued for working days to collective farm workers, only in Zakarpattia Oblast, as of October 1, 1952, the arrears for previous years amounted to four million rubles⁶. As informed by the report note of the Stanislav regional com-

¹ ДАРО. Ф. Р-189. Оп. 3-а. Спр. 1. Арк. 5.

² ДАЧО. Ф. Р-4. Оп. 4. Спр. 186. Арк. 34.

³ Радянська Волинь. В обкомі КПУ і облвиконкомі. 1959. 28 березня.

⁴ ДАІФО. Ф. Р-295. Оп. 5. Спр. 832. Арк. 22–23.

⁵ ДАТО. Ф. Р-1. Оп. 7. Спр. 6. Арк. 50.

⁶ ДАЗО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 1. Спр. 2040. Арк. 43.

mittee of the party for December 1954 in the Central Committee of the CP(b)U, “On the state of economic activity of some mountain collective farms of the Stanislav region and prospects for the development of agriculture in their locations”, during the four years of their management, a number of collective farms in Perehinske, Rozhniativ, Nadvirna, Dolyna, Yaremcha districts was unable to provide payment for a collective farm labor day¹.

The primary means of subsistence of the peasantry remained individual farms. Here is an extract from one of the letters from December 1950, which is preserved in the fund of the Transcarpathian Regional Committee of the CP(b)U: “Now it has snowed a lot, there are severe frosts, and in our collective farm, the entire harvest is still in the field”, wrote A. Hlyvlias, a resident of the village of Zadylske, Volovets District, “they do not collect bread and hay themselves, and people not allowed. The rye has already rotted. They did not even begin to pick the potatoes. This is how we are now; people have nothing to eat. Whoever has – sells his cattle and buys bread and corn”². At the same time, high taxes were imposed on each fruit tree, regardless of whether it produced a harvest. The peasant paid monetary taxes to the state, established under the income received from each head of livestock, the area of crops, etc. In order to get out of a catastrophic situation, the peasants were forced to close down their farm, which was becoming unprofitable. This process had significantly intensified since 1948 when as a result of several tax increases and a decrease in retail prices for agricultural products, there was a sharp decrease in the profits of collective farmers. This state policy concerning the countryside led to the fact that in 1950 in the USSR, 40% of peasant families did not keep dairy cattle, and 15% did not have pets³. The consequence of Stalin’s collectivization was a sharp deterioration in the material standard of living of people in the village. Eyewitnesses of those events testify: “People were poor in collective farms”⁴.

¹ ДАІФО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 1. Спр. 1813. Арк. 43.

² ДАЗО. Ф. П-1. Оп. 1. Спр. 1426. Арк. 80.

³ Волков И. М. Трудовой подвиг советского крестьянства в послевоенные годы. Колхозы СССР в 1946–1950 годах. Москва: Мысль, 1972. С. 265–266.

⁴ Пашак Я. П. Родимий край, село родиме: Документальний нарис. Київ: Веселка, 2001. С. 138.

The ruling elite justified all this with the desire to force the peasant to devote most of his time to the “public economy”, working “for the state.” At the same time, capital investments in agriculture needed to be increased; priority was given to industry and defense. The development of agriculture lagged sharply behind the pace of industrial development. The country’s industry developed at the expense of agriculture. With the help of the monetary reform of 1947, the industry received multibillion sums taken from the people¹. All products of the region’s economy’s collective farm sector were placed at the Moscow departments’ disposal, which centrally distributed its resources.

The productive activity of collective farms was based on the crews’ work, which carried out seasonal work with the stock and working cattle assigned to them. The brigades were divided into sections responsible for separate grain, technical, vegetable, and other crops. If, at first personal responsibility for the work performed was practiced in the ranks, then in 1950, a unified system began to be applied, which neglected material incentives. The main subdivision of farms became the production districts assigned machinery, land, livestock, and buildings.

Low wages in collective farm production forced peasants to make maximum use of the possibilities of individual subsidiary farms. Collective farm farmers lived mainly on their homestead farms, which provided them with more than 80% of their meat and 90% of their potatoes. At the same time, the average wage of a worker in Lviv in the field of mechanical engineering and metalworking in March 1952 alone was 816 rubles (skilled – in the range of 479–2411 rubles, unskilled – 291–1071 rubles)².

By draining resources from the collective farm village, the state reduced the prices of food products, which primarily benefited people with high salaries. The collective farm peasants received for their work several times less than the workers and employees. The state purchased wheat from collective farms at one kopeck per kilogram at the retail price of flour – 31 kopecks, meat for 23 kopecks at the retail price in the city – 1.5 rubles, etc³. In the agriculture of the western regions of

¹ Попов В.П. Сталин и советская экономика в послевоенные годы. *Отечественная история*. 2001. № 3. С. 71.

² Там само. Спр. 2. Арк. 2.

³ Агитатор. *Правда о “золотом веке” цен*. 1988. № 1. С. 29.

the Ukrainian SSR, as in the entire USSR, it was not profitable for the collective farmer to work well, achieving high results because the state took away the produced products for a symbolic payment. The exchange between the city and the village was different, due to which the payment of labor in the collective farms was meager.

During 1951–1953, another subjugation of the Western Ukrainian peasantry began with the help of an extensive administrative and bureaucratic apparatus. The Party-Soviet nomenclature, a parasite on the collective farm system, did everything to subdue the productive forces of the village. A characteristic feature of the collective farm system was the overspending of working days for the maintenance of the administrative and management apparatus, despite the resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR No. 3329 of September 3, 1948. The improper use of working days occurred due to the increase in the number of managerial and service personnel in collective farms' excessively high costs of working days. In many collective farms, this led to a shortage of non-disabled collective farm workers to work in the fields and on farms, which had lower wages than in service positions.

Orgnabir, like serving in the army, going to study, or marrying a city resident, allowed bypassing passport restrictions. The rural population was subject to severe social discrimination. Collective farm workers were deprived of the opportunity to have passports; they were not covered by pension insurance and payments for temporary incapacity for work. A peasant could get a job in other branches of the economy only with a permit based on a leaving certificate from the collective farm. The latest enslavement continued until the passportization of the village in February 1958. It was a state of disenfranchisement in society – people of a “lower class”. Collective farm youth who reached 16 were automatically enrolled as members of collective farms, even without applying.

The rise of the region's agriculture was relatively slow. The Western Ukrainian peasantry, like the peasantry of the entire USSR, has moved somewhat away from the critical limit. The tragic pages of the life of the Ukrainian village and the specter of the famine of 1946–1947, created by Stalin's totalitarian regime, continued to haunt the peasants. During 1951–1953, no significant changes were observed in

the agriculture of Ukraine. The total volume of production remained approximately at the level of 1950¹.

The post-war Western Ukrainian village's troubles resulted from the war's horrors. The preparation of prerequisites and the establishment of a socialist system of production in agriculture further complicated the situation. Along with allocating land to the poor, providing loans, and organizing land communities, the government resorted to violent economic and political actions that made it impossible to run an individual peasant economy. These actions, aimed at restricting land use and introducing exorbitant taxes, affected the bulk of the villagers, who were small landowners. Various measures were carried out using brutal, violent actions characteristic of the command-administrative system. J. Stalin reached the limit, solving the urgent tasks of economic policy with completely non-economic methods. The Western Ukrainian village resisted the formation and strengthening of the foundations of the command-administrative system, and the armed struggle of the OUN underground and UPA departments became an influential factor.

The state, through forcible collectivization, bet on non-economic coercion and neglected the experience of the peasantry. According to the stereotypes of customary law, which dominated the peasant consciousness, the only authoritative governing bodies were land communities. Western Ukrainian farmsteads were harbingers of farms. The village had two types of private economy: one based on the personal labor of the producer (farming) and one based on hired labor (private enterprises). Instead of increasing the efficiency and competitiveness of these numerous farms, the Soviet totalitarian regime set out to annihilate them.

Oleh Maliarchuk

¹ Розвиток народного господарства Української РСР. 1917–1967. У 2 т. Т. 2. Київ: Наукова думка, 1967. С. 287.

“BACK TO NORMALCY” AND DAILY LIFE OF UKRAINIAN RETURNEES AFTER WORLD WAR II

The hard trials that befell the forced laborers and prisoners of war during World War II, the complex and painful processes of repatriation, checks and filtration were by no means the last test that befell the broad masses of Soviet citizens, and Ukrainians were a significant part among them. Those who managed to pass the test of the Soviet repatriation missions, who were able to avoid the Soviet concentration camps in the post-war period, were far from being in an enviable state. The “returnee” stigma, which the Soviet totalitarian system hung on those people, became a significant obstacle in their life path, which significantly affected their future fate, opportunities to study and find jobs, in general, the ability to return to a productive social life.

The issues of repatriation arise with new urgency today during the Russian-Ukrainian war, because a significant part of Ukrainian refugees in Europe and forcibly displaced persons on the territory of the Russian Federation face, among other things, many problems of life and accommodation that returnees faced after World War II.

The analysis of recent studies and publications where the solution of this issue has begun convincingly indicates that the problem of Soviet repression is extremely multifaceted, since it covers numerous social and age groups, is long in time and has a number of stages. At present, there are several dozens of researchers working on this important issue. V. Ilnytskyi, V. Danylenko, M. Lytvyn, A. Maliarchuk and others should be noted among authors of the latest publications. The authors agree that the repressions became one of the means of Sovietization of Western Ukraine¹, and a way of imposing the Soviet totalitarian ideology. Repatriation as a process and the fate of returnees

¹ Литвин М., Ільницький В. Соціогуманітаристика західного регіону України в умовах сталінського тоталітаризму: просопографічний та комеморативний аспекти. *Політика пам'яті в Україні щодо радянських репресій у західних областях України (1939–1945): колективна монографія*/ відп. ред. В. Ільницький. Львів-Торунь: Liha-Pres, 2021. С. 139–153; Міщанин В. Сталінські репресії, як інструмент радянзації Закарпаття 1944–1953 рр. *Політика пам'яті в Україні щодо радянських репресій у західних областях України (1939–1945): колективна монографія*/ відп. ред. В. Ільницький. Львів-Торунь: Liha-Pres, 2021. С. 355–356.

after returning to the Ukrainian SSR was also studied by M. Kunitskyi, T. Pastushenko, L. Strilchuk¹.

The authors of the study mainly rely on documents found in the archival collections of the Central State Archive of the Supreme Authorities and Administration in Kyiv, some of which have been introduced into the scholarly discourse for the first time.

The purpose of the study is to analyze the daily life of Ukrainian returnees that have not yet become the subject of a separate research study.

The decisions of the top authorities in the mid-1940s, the new instructions of the NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) and the NKGB (People's Commissariat for State Security) increasingly intensified repressions against former prisoners of war and civilians repatriated from Germany. The use of all those under examination to be involved in forced labor was an important feature of the aforementioned strengthening². New check and filtration camps were established in addition to the check and filtration centers. They were located mainly in the European part of the country. The persons imprisoned in them, who were waiting for the end of the check, were involved in forced labor in harmful and hard work in industrial enterprises of the coal and metallurgical industries, mines and ore mines. The archives

¹ Куницький М. Примусова репатріація радянських громадян до СРСР після Другої світової війни (український вектор). Луцьк, 2007. 248 с.; Пастушенко Т., Шевченко М. Доля українських оstarбайтерів в документах фондового зібрання меморіального комплексу "Національний музей історії Великої Вітчизняної війни 1941–1945 рр.". *Студії з архівної справи і документознавства*. Том II. Київ, 1997, С. 100–104; Стрільчук Л. Доля військовополонених і депортованих громадян СРСР у роки Другої світової війни та після її закінчення. *Науковий вісник Волинського державного університету імені Лесі Українки. Історичні науки*. Луцьк, 1998. № 1. С. 94–98; Стрільчук Л. Репресії проти радянських репатріантів після Другої світової війни: формування політики непам'ятання в СРСР. *Проблеми гуманітарних наук: збірник наукових праць Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка. Серія Історія*. Дрогобич. Випуск 4/46 (2020). С. 334–350.

² Стрільчук Л. Репресії проти радянських репатріантів після Другої світової війни: формування політики непам'ятання в СРСР. *Проблеми гуманітарних наук: збірник наукових праць Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка. Серія Історія*. Дрогобич. Випуск 4/46 (2020). С. 340–345.

contain a lot of documents, letters confirming the fact of forced employment and resettlement of returnees. Let's quote some of them:

"... We were repatriated from France, and although we come from Western Ukraine, we were sent to work as miners in the city of Ordzhonikidze at the V. Lenin mine... we did not receive any answer to our numerous requests for permission to return to Western Ukraine... (9 people signed the letter). March 29, 1947"¹.

"... the department for repatriation under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR sends you a request from citizen Klochko M.P., who asks to be released from work at the Kryvyi Rih construction of the Kryvbasruda Trust due to the difficult financial situation of his family living in the territory of the Lviv region... Zozulenko. April 16, 1947"².

"... we send you the request of I.S. Hryshchenko, who asks to be released from work in the city of Mariupol from the Azovstal plant and be sent to his former place of residence (Fastiv, Kyiv region). Native Hryshchenko complains that being far from his previous place of residence, he cannot resolve the issue of the party membership, because he stayed in the occupied territory on mission and still has not given an account to his party organization. I ask for your instructions. Zozulenko. January 17, 1947"³.

Most often, returnees received refusals for such letters. Here are examples: "... we answer your letter that if you want to move to Poltava for permanent residence, you need to have permission from the regional executive committee of the Poltava region and a certificate of the availability for providing you with place for living... Zozulenko. December 22, 1947"⁴.

"... We send the request of Bondarenko D. R. for your consideration. Native Bondarenko reports that his daughter, repatriated from West Germany, works at the Chystiakove railway station in the track service. Comrade Goncharov, the head of the personnel department, has a callous attitude towards returnees who work and are being checked, calls

¹ ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР. Управління справами. 1947 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 5823. *Матеріали з питань трудового і побутового влаштування репатріантів по Українській РСР*. Арк. 11.

² Там само. Арк. 71.

³ Там само. Арк. 111.

⁴ ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР. Управління справами. 1947 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 5830. *Матеріали з питань трудового і побутового влаштування репатріантів по Українській РСР*. Арк. 123.

them “German old hags” and threatens that he would send them to the East to taiga... Native Bondarenko asks for the second time (after the refusal) to allow his daughter Bondarenko G. to return to her parents, to her family... Check the facts of the insensitive politically harmful attitude towards returnees urgently... Zozulenko. April 25, 1947”¹.

The example of the regime nature in the filtration camps, the procedures and methods of verification and filtration can be found in a letter, the author of which wrote from camp No. 48, “...People of all ages and all nationalities are kept here. All of them were in captivity in Germany, Romania, Finland or lived in the occupied territory... People imprisoned in these tuberculosis nurseries, are waiting for their fate to be decided for years, months, they are imprisoned practically without trial, and without investigation... Let’s say a person has been in the camp for 6 months, the seventh is called in for questioning. The questioning is done, six months passed again, they call again, they interrogate. When the person begins to express indignation, they say, that person’s business is to stay and not rock the boat, and they’ll check, and then decide what to do”².

“They work in mines, they eat something – both rotten potatoes and half-rotten tomatoes, and if more or less decent food is brought, it completely does not reach its intended purpose, although almost the entire salary is taken away for food. They calculate from a good worker ... who earns, let’s say, 1,500 roubles... of which this miner is given only 200 roubles. For one month and that is all. And the worker has no right to buy milk or some fats in the market... Thus, I don’t know how to continue to live and work in the mine without fats on such a poor diet. People live half-starved, ragged, dirty, without linen, with lice, in barracks, all the cracks of which are teeming with bedbugs and other parasites. If someone dares to say something, he will be instantly reprimanded – this, they say, is not Germany or Finland. It turns out that miracles can be performed here on our native land, in the sense of abusing people... but those who served in the enemy army, there is a special talk about them, but those who were in captivity and survived the terrible

¹ ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР. Управління справами. 1947 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 5823. *Матеріали з питань трудового і побутового влаштування репатріантів по Українській РСР.* Арк. 225.

² ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР. Управління справами. 1947 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 5824. *Матеріали з питань трудового і побутового влаштування репатріантів по Українській РСР.* Арк. 198.

captivity, they are having difficult times... they are not workers, this is a special contingent. The weakened person who has not made the norm remains hungry in the mine for the second shift, if the second shift has not been fulfilled – for the third one, and when the person fulfills the quota in three shifts, then the person is dragged by the arms”¹.

General Golikov sent a copy of this letter to Deputy People’s Commissar of Internal Affairs Chernyshov. The letter has a note made by one of the responsible employees of the Office of the Commissioner of the USSR Council of People’s Commissars for repatriation: “I have many same examples”².

The check and filtration camps were mostly located in the areas of large industrial cities, coal mines, ore mines, construction sites. Everyone who got into them worked in production. If there was a special need for labor, the inspection period had been delayed for many years. For example, camps in the Pechora, Vorkuta areas and other places existed until 1950, and the check and filtration camp at the chemical plant in Leningrad worked until 1953.

The fact that returnees who successfully passed the filtration were subjected to discrimination and harassment from the authorities is evidenced by numerous examples based on archival documents. The most common examples of discrimination were bans on settling in places of pre-war residence, or the possibility of moving to a family, such as, “... we would like to explain the following at your request to help you in releasing from work and leaving for the permanent place of residence: we need to have additional documents regarding your request indicating the composition of your family, its place of residence and material and living conditions. After the presentation of the above documents, we will be able to return to the consideration of your request...”³. As for the comments of this document, we will limit ourselves to only one ques-

¹ ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР. Управління справами. 1947 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 5823. *Матеріали з питань трудового і побутового влаштування репатріантів по Українській РСР*. Арк. 112.

² Стрільчук Л. Доля військовополонених і депортованих громадян СРСР у роки Другої світової війни та після її закінчення. *Науковий вісник Волинського державного університету імені Лесі Українки. Історичні науки*. Луцьк, 1998. № 1. С. 95–97.

³ ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР. Управління справами. 1947 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 5830. *Матеріали з питань трудового і побутового влаштування репатріантів по Українській РСР*. Арк. 28.

tion: how could the person who was forbidden to leave the camp, and how much time he needed to collect the relevant documents?

Or a boilerplate letter from authorities of different nature, "...we answer your letter that if you want to move to the permanent place of residence in the Ternopil region, then you need to have permission from the regional executive committee of the Ternopil region and the certificate of availability for living space for you..."¹.

The document with the following content: "The explanation about the impossibility of dismissal from work:

1. Returnees may leave the enterprise in accordance with the Labor Code on the same basis as all employees.

2. There is no legal ground for your dismissal, and therefore the director of the plant has the right to refuse dismissal from work.

3. In accordance with the Decree of the Council of Ministers of the USSR of August 25, 1946, No. 1897, you, as the returnee, by agreement with the director of the plant, may be granted the right to transport your family to your place of work..."

is more common in the archival collections of the Central State Archive of the Supreme Authorities and Administration of Ukraine².

The cited document can be found in many cases of the repatriation collection; in fact, it has become a kind of template for refusing to leave the enterprise and move in with the family at the request of returnees. The documents that actually allow dismissal from work and moving to a family can be also found: "The Department for Repatriation under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR reports that the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR instructed the dismissal of citizen Vibrst from work if his family status is confirmed..."³.

It should be recognized that documents of such content are rather exceptions.

To check and filter people repatriated from the territory of Germany and its allies, special representatives for the reception and

¹ Там само. Арк. 103.

² ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР. Управління справами. 1947 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 5828. *Матеріали з питань трудового і побутового влаштування репатріантів по Українській РСР*. Арк 7.

³ ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР. Управління справами. 1947 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 5823. *Матеріали з питань трудового і побутового влаштування репатріантів по Українській РСР*. Арк. 59.

placement of returnees were approved in every district. As a rule, heads of personnel of district executive committees of regions were appointed to the positions of district commissioners. There is a well-known deterioration of a secret instruction by commissioners for repatriation in regional centers, the essence of which was the following: do not settle, under any pretext, returnees in cities of regional significance and Kyiv. We can see a lot of complaints from citizens who were checked and filtered, but were not able to settle in the cities they lived before the war: "...to refuse registration for permanent residence in Kyiv to native German G. V. because the referral from the transit and filtration camp indicates the Kyiv region, and not the city of Kyiv..."¹.

Extract from the letter of the head of repatriation in the Lviv region to Zozulenko says: "We inform you that native Nagina M. M. arrived to us on November 12, 1946, with the purpose to live in Lviv (where he lived before the war). For reasons known to you, we could not register him in Lviv... but we settled him in the suburban village of Sknyliv, 3 km away from Lviv, where we provided him with housing, fuel, financial aid (600 roubles), vegetables, as well as provided him with work in Lviv... But native Nagina M. M. after receiving personal clarifications from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR that the Ministry of Internal Affairs does not give sanctions for his residence permit in Lviv, nevertheless demands to be sent to his former place of residence..."².

As a matter of fact, most of people repatriated to the USSR in the first post-war years were sick people as a rule. Actually, this is a natural phenomenon, since most of them did not have the normal diet for years, moreover, it was extremely unsatisfactory; there was no medical control of health, they had constant nervous tension and stress, as well as fear – made negative consequences. The state of health of the returnees was characterized by one of the memorandums of the head of the Sambir assembly and transit point No. 323: "...As of February 1, 1946, the medical unit of this assembly and transit point served 44,830 returnees: 44,830 of whom passed through a disinfection chamber,

¹ ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР. Управління справами. 1947 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 5823. *Матеріали з питань трудового і побутового влаштування репатріантів по Українській РСР*. Арк. 59.

² Там само. Арк. 1.

1,075 persons were admitted to the hospital, 7,508 people received outpatient treatment.

Patients with the following infectious diseases were identified: acute gonorrhoea – 117 persons (115 of whom were hospitalized, 2 of them died); chronic gonorrhoea – 218; stage I syphilis – 7 people; stage II syphilis – 28 people; stage III syphilis – 2 people; active tuberculosis – 46 cases; latent TB Infection – 228 cases; typhoid fever – 42; typhus – 1; dysentery – 29”¹.

Along with the task of the thorough check, the authorities set the goal to morally re-educate, form the appropriate worldview among the returnees. Thus, we read the following in the report on cultural work among the returnees of the Sambir assembly and transit point No. 323: “As of February 9, 1946, 208 reports were made by the returnees and authorized region commissioners (propagandists), covering 26,835 returnees, 86 lectures were delivered, 26,490 interviews were conducted – 300,130 returnees were covered”².

The army of propagandists worked in the check and transit points and in the check and filtration camps, whose main task was to give guidance to the returnees to work in industries and agriculture exactly in those places where it was required, and also to convince them of the repatriation correctness and methods used to carry out this work. Documents stored in the archives convincingly testify that propagandists were paid for their work quite well according to the standards of that time. To confirm this conclusion, we will quote several documents: “... the regional executive committee requests that funds be transferred to our account in Lutsk to replace the 54,000 roubles given to the propagandists according to your instructions in 1945 and payment to propagandist comrade Razumenko, in the amount of 1,528 roubles”³.

Information desks that helped returnees search for their relatives have begun to be arranged at the CDP (checking and distribution point

¹ ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР 1946 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 4242. *Матеріали з питань трудового та побутового влаштування репатріантів (доповіді, записки, листи, тощо.)*. Арк. 30–31.

² ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР 1946 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 4242. *Матеріали з питань трудового та побутового влаштування репатріантів (доповіді, записки, листи, тощо.)*. Арк. 31.

³ ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР 1946 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 4258. *Листування з центральними та обласними установами УРСР з фінансових питань репатріації*. Арк. 114.

– author) since late 1945. “...There are 25 information desks on issues of interest to returnees in the assembly and transit point No. 323. The information desks, as a rule, were headed by regional propagandists. As of February 9, 1946, 46,976 returnees were served there, 3,117 of whom were assisted in the search for relatives (by inquiries to the regional executive committees, regional departments of the NKVD)...”¹.

The returnees suffered from difficult conditions of detention in check and filtration camps, poor nutrition, moral and psychological pressure, and threats. Eloquently, the situation about the state of providing returnees with essential goods is evidenced by the RFP audit report for the Ternopil region: “... things were received from the regional trade department on June 21, 1945, in the amount of 338 items and sent to the distribution point in Ternopil. As reflected by the report of comrade Zuyev, head of the regional distribution point, he refused to receive things because of their quality (old, torn). The rejection of things was sanctioned by Brylinskyi, the head of the department for repatriation, who informed the regional prosecutor’s office about this situation...”².

Or one more document, the telegram from the commandant of assembly and transit point No.325 in Kovel to Zozulenko: “700 extra people – emigrants who arrived in Ukraine from France – have been detained for 13 days in the Kovel camp due to the lack of cars. People get sick, the food limit is exhausted, they are hungry. Their mood is very negative; I ask for your order on the urgent supply of cars or empty cars (50 units) to the Kovel railway station. Otherwise, there will be a riot here. Kinchadze, camp head. September 8, 1947”³.

Zozulenko responds to Kovel with the telegram of the following content: “...in order to raise patriotic spirit and morale, we offer the following slogans on the posters of those meeting in the camp: “Long

¹ ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР 1946 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 4243. *Матеріали з питань трудового та побутового влаштування репатріантів (довіді, записки, листи, тощо.)*. Арк. 30.

² ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР 1946 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 4260. *Матеріали з питань фінансової діяльності обласних відділів у справах репатріації Української РСР (листи, акти, тощо)*. Арк. 4.

³ ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР. Управління справами. 1947 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 5832. *Матеріали про роботу збірно-пересильних пунктів у справах репатріації в областях Української РСР*. Арк. 61.

live Soviet Socialist Ukraine – an Integral Part of the USSR” – 50 posters, and “Brotherly Greetings to Soviet Citizens Returning Home!” – 50 posters... Zozulenko. September 10, 1947”¹.

It would be a rude mistake to believe that after passing the test, all returnees, without exception, were sent to compulsory labor. Some of them, however, much less than half, went to the places of residence of their families. According to the regulatory documents, returnees who successfully passed checks and filtration by the state were paid a one-time financial aid, the amount of which was determined by the same filtration commissions, and returnees were provided with housing in cases when they did not go to the places of residence of their families.

The letter of the People’s Commissariat of Finance of the Ukrainian SSR stated: “In order to implement Decree No. 230 of February 19, 1946, of the Council of People’s Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR “On Provision of Financial Aid to Repatriated Soviet Citizens in Particular Need,” the department for repatriation under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR asks for 500 thousand roubles from the USSR People’s Commissariat of Finance for arrived returnees from the Union budget for the 1st quarter of 1946 to provide assistance to especially needy returnees. Credits should be transferred by telegraph according to the following distribution:

1. Vinnytsia region – 15,000 roubles
2. Volyn region – 15,000 roubles
5. Drohobych region – 10,000 roubles
6. Zhytomyr region – 10,000 roubles
7. Zakarpattia region – 10,000 roubles”².

Every regional department for repatriation reported on the funds spent. The extract from one of the reports on the Rivne region: “... a) financial aid was provided to especially needy returnees, on loans from the union budget, in the amount of 44,500 roubles, 251 people received the aid, 2,500 roubles from the local budget were

¹ ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР. Управління справами. 1947 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 5832. *Матеріали про роботу збірно-пересильних пунктів у справах репатріації в областях Української РСР.* Арк. 35.

² ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР 1946 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 4258. *Листування з центральними та обласними установами УРСР з фінансових питань репатріації.* Арк. 151.

given to 5 persons; b) assistance with food from the aid funds was provided for returnees. The following goods were given to people: grain – 12,430 kg, 437 people; flour – 1,927 kg, 186 people; potatoes – 24,300 kg, 265 people; vegetables – 21,240 kg, 243 people; c) 4,608 cubic meters of building timber were supplied for the renovation of apartments and houses, and for construction of new houses for 361 families; 10 heads of cattle for 10 families; a loan for construction was given to 19 families in the amount of 95,000 roubles; provided assistance with fuel...d) assistance with textiles – 1,906 meters of textiles were given for 501 people; clothes – 798 pieces for 543 people; shoes – 43 pairs... e) apartments were provided to 697 families, houses returned – 128, apartments repaired – 716...”¹.

However, as it becomes clear from the documents, not all returnees received the same amount or money at all. Some returnees were granted pensions, while others were deprived of such pensions by decisions of the commissions. Thus, archival files contain many complaints of returnees about the failure to provide them with pensions or the provision of pensions in small amounts. Here is the example of explanations to the complaint of returnees: “We inform you that according to the law on pensions for the disabled, the pensions on disability are not assigned to persons without work experience.

Returnees who have the employment history and lost their ability to work as a result of German slavery should be paid the pension on the general basis. The procedure for assigning pensions to former prisoners of war is provided by the resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR of July 9, 1946, No. 1516. Deputy Authorized Representative of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for Repatriation Golubev”².

Zozulenko’s report to Moscow: “... many returnees lost their ability to work as a result of their stay in Nazi slavery. The Ministry of Social Welfare of the Ukrainian SSR and its regional bodies refuse to assign pensions to such citizens due to their lack of employment experience.

¹ ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР 1946 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 4242. *Матеріали з питань трудового та побутового влаштування репатріантів (довіді, записки, листи, тощо.)*. Арк. 135–136.

² ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР. Управління справами. 1947 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 5785. *Листування з радою Міністрів, міністерствами і центральними організаціями Союзу РСР з питань репатріації*. Арк. 115.

The Department for Repatriation Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR requests you to inform about the procedure for assigning both the state and disability pension to citizens who lost their ability to work as a result of the injury during their stay in German slavery. Zozulenko”¹.

Meanwhile, the number of former returnees who successfully passed the checking was growing. How did they settle in life, what professions were mostly available to them? Let’s try to answer these questions, again referring to archival documents. We can read the following information in the certificate on repatriation cases in the Kyiv region for February 1946: “In total, the Germans took from the Kyiv region into German slavery (excluding data for Kyiv) 159,054 people, of whom: 75,761 men, 83,293 women, 2,169 children under 16. Currently, 101,386 people have returned to their homeland, of whom: 26,326 men, 75,058 women, 1,407 children under 16, and 896 citizens over 55. Among those who returned to the Kyiv region, 10,569 people were employed in industry, 33,593 men and 6,976 women; in agriculture – 85,080 people, 21,726 men, 64,354 women; in cooperative, trade and economic organizations – 1,403 people, of whom 317 men, and 1,086 women. Among the returnees, there were 576 teachers, 384 persons were employed according to their major; 711 people – former students, 472 of whom began their studies in the 1945-1946 academic year. 431 persons among the returnees who were subject to military conscription were drafted into the Red Army. 3,434 people were temporarily employed. Returnees, as a rule, settled in their own houses and apartments, and for those whose buildings were destroyed, the district council resettled them in free houses or dormitories ...”².

“Mass cultural and educational work is carried out by propagandists, party and komsomol organizations... the mood of the majority of the returnees is good, they are grateful for returning home. Former returnees showed great initiative in restoring the national economy, houses ...”³.

One can reproduce a complete picture regarding the distribution and arrangements for returnees from official documents – statements,

¹ Там само. Арк. 127.

² ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР 1946 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 4242. Матеріали з питань трудового та побутового влаштування репатріантів (доповіді, записки, листи, тощо). Арк. 156–159.

³ Там само. Арк. 157–158.

memorandums, reports. We read the following information in the certificate on situation in the Poltava region, dated August 13, 1946: "... apartments were prepared for the accommodation of returnee families: 46 – by state farms, 18 – by enterprises and institutions. 67 beds were prepared by state farms, and 55 beds were prepared by enterprises and institutions to place lonely people in hostels... Taking into consideration that the room where the collection point for returnees is located is cold and damp... it is impossible to use this room during the winter, so we will use a hotel that can accommodate 25–30 people. People will eat in canteens... 114,975 people passed through the reception and distribution point of the Poltava region. 58,543 of them stayed in the region. Other returnees crossed the region in transit, and they were provided with some food..."¹.

There are similar reports for every region of the Ukrainian SSR during the period of 1946-1950. However, it should be noted that the information reflected in the reports sometimes significantly differs from other documents, for example, letters, complaints from former returnees. "We send you the request from returnee Zhovnirenko Ya. S. with the complaint about illegal actions against him and his family by the Kyiv police department. We request you to suspend their expulsion from the apartment... check the facts of abuse of office by comrade Martiukhin, the deputy chairman of the district council of the Molotovskiy district in Kyiv... Zozulenko"².

"We send you the copy of the complaint of citizen Strelchuk H. A., who complains that he, as the returnee, is not accepted for training... the repatriation department suggests urgent checking of the facts indicated in the request and take necessary steps to content the complaint. Zozulenko"³.

"... native Byvanin O. A. complains that in 1946 he returned from Germany, but still cannot get a passport..."⁴.

¹ Там само. Арк. 37–38.

² ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР 1946 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 4260. *Матеріали з питань фінансової діяльності обласних відділів у справах репатріації Української РСР (листи, акти, тощо)*. Арк. 8.

³ ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР 1946 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 4259. *Листування з центральними та обласними установами УРСР з фінансових питань репатріації*. Арк. 15.

⁴ ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР. Управління справами. 1947 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 5787. *Листування з радою Міністрів*,

One more illustration on this topic – the case of native Topor Ya.S., who built the house before the war at his own expense in the village of Klevan, Rivne region, where he had lived until June 1941. When he returned to his native village in 1947, he could not settle in his house, since it was given to the district communal services. Topor Ya. S. was explained that since the house was renovated at the state expense, its owner was not allowed to move into it yet. It became possible only after countless complaints and retrials that the former returnee was finally able to get his home back¹.

Quite often, there were cases when returnees, having passed the check and filtration, had to make a new start arranging their life practically from scratch, without even necessities. The following document may illustrate these facts. The statement of the Executive Committee of the Volyn Regional Council of Workers' Deputies addressed to Zozulenko, in particular, says: "Returnee from France, A. I. Dodyuk, who arrived in our region, is in an extremely difficult financial situation. In addition to two suitcases with linen and three children, she has nothing. There are no necessities like a table, beds, armchairs and other household items². Please explain the Lutsk Communal Bank the need of giving the loan in the amount of 3,000 roubles to her for arranging the housing, or allow to give her a one-time financial aid. Mayevskiyi. December 12, 1947"³.

There are many complaints from returnees related to the inability to get a higher education, although it is fair to note that most of the men-

міністерствами і центральними організаціями Союзу РСР з питань репатріації. Арк. 27.

¹ Стрільчук Л. Репресивна політика радянської влади щодо репатріантів у 1944–1953 рр. *Радянські репресії в Західній Україні у 1939–1953 рр.: колективна монографія.* Одеса: Видавничий дім "Тельветика", 2021. С. 349–353.

² Dobrzhanskyi O., Strilchuk L. Repressions of soviet authorities regarding military and civil persons who stayed in the occupied territory (1944–1953): search in the memory space. *Stalin's repressions against the population of the western regions of Ukraine (1939–1953): social and personal dimensions, politics of memory: Collective Monograph* Riga, Latvia, 2022. P. 109–111.

³ ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР. Управління справами. 1947 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 5786. *Листування з радою Міністрів, міністерствами і центральними організаціями Союзу РСР з питань репатріації.* Арк. 114.

tioned complaints, as a rule, have quite logical and correct replies, such as Zozulenko's letter to citizen Botanov V. S.: "...On the availability of your education: 1. When enrolling in higher educational institutions in 1948, you have the right to take exams at any higher educational institution of the USSR on a general basis... 2. When entering higher educational institutions in Ukraine, it is possible for you to get some benefits, as returnee from France, through the Department for Higher Education under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR... Zozulenko"¹.

The success that the returnees achieved in the professional field or in training, can be judged by various letters of recommendation and references, which can be found in considerable quantities in archival collections. For example: "Letter of recommendation of Valiaieva A.I., who was born in 1925... in October 1943, she was taken to Germany with her family. After being released from the fascist captivity, she worked in the camp for returnees until September 1945. After having been checked, she moved to Zhytomyr with her family and entered the radio training courses at the Zhytomyr Agricultural Institute. She successfully completed the courses and entered the Zhytomyr Agricultural Institute in August 1946. Native Valiaieva E. I. is an excellent student, takes an active part in the work of the research and technical clubs at the institute. This cultured and politically competent student is currently working as the propagandist at the elections to local Soviets... We suggest recommending her to join the komsomol..."².

Another positive example of the returnees' fate in the USSR is the case of military pilot Oleksandr Razgonin, who was captured by the Germans, was repatriated and, after checking, not only escaped the camps, but he was awarded with the title of Hero of the USSR and the Order of Lenin.

There were cases when returnees applied to work in one area or another, most likely because they wanted to leave the check and filtration camps at any cost, and then refused to work and live where they were

¹ ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР 1946 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 4258. *Листування з центральними та обласними установами УРСР з фінансових питань репатріації*. Арк. 139.

² ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР. Управління справами. 1947 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 5838. *Листи і статті репатрійованих громадян про їх життя в Радянській Україні*. арк. 8.

sent. In one of the complaints, addressed to Zozulenko, we read: "... In July 1947, native Tretiakov, the returnee, agreed to work in construction, received an apartment and ration cards. And then he refused to work..."¹.

The analysis of documents leads to the conclusion that the USSR made significant efforts to return the maximum possible part of its former citizens to the country. However, the course of repatriation, as well as the further checks and filtration of returnees, became another criminal page of the Soviet regime against its citizens. Instead of delivering masses of people to the borders of the USSR and dismissing them to their homes, to their families, the Soviet repatriation authorities subjected sick, exhausted and desperate people to lengthy humiliating checks. Moreover, not everyone was able to withstand these checks, both from the psychological and moral side, and from the point of view of the so-called reliability.

The authorities pinned insulting labels on returnees, which made their way difficult to higher education institutions, party and state structures. In addition, most of the returnees had to start their lives with almost a blank page, having absolutely nothing, not even essential goods. Those meager and quite often untimely cash benefits were too small to somehow help returnees in their difficult financial situation. However, everything is known in comparison. Even the life described above seemed so bright and cherished in the dreams of that part of the returnees who ended up in camps behind barbed wire for many years, and many of them were never destined to return to their homes.

Oleksandr Dobrzhanskyi, Lyudmyla Strilchuk

¹ ЦДАВО Укр. Рада Міністрів Української РСР. Управління справами. 1947 рік. Ф. Р-2. Оп. 7. Спр. 5787. *Листування з радою Міністрів, міністерствами і центральними організаціями Союзу РСР з питань репатріації*. Арк. 122.

THE POST-WAR FAMINE OF 1946–1947: THE VOLYN DIMENSION

The post-war famine of 1946–1947 is much less studied and elucidated than the Holodomor of 1932–1933. We support the statement of Iliia Shulha and other scholars who researched the famine issues: “The 1946–1947 famine years were somehow hidden in the historical annals of 1933, 1941–1945. But in the people’s memory, even now, they still cause sharp pain....”¹.

The communist authorities of the USSR criminally hushed up the post-war famine of 1946–1947 for decades. They tried to obliterate the very word Holodomor/famine (the word *famine* was utterly ignored in scientific publications, textbooks, and manuals). In an effort not to overshadow the “achievements of socialist and, later, communist construction”, the Soviet leaders imposed a taboo on this topic, which was equated to state secrecy. It was forbidden not only to write about the terrible famine manifestations but also to speak about it or even mention in official documents and mass media. Officially, instead of it, the collocations “post-war difficulties” and “difficulties with food” were widely used.

Recently, in Ukrainian historiography, there has been an increased interest in studying the issues of the post-war famine in general and its manifestations in certain regions in particular. It is important to mention the following studies that shed light on the local features of the 1946–1947 famine: Ihor Andrykhiv² – Stanislavshchyna, Kyryl Horbunov, Yevhen Horbunov, Larysa Levenko, Liudmyla Klymova, Mykola Shytiuk³ – in the Mykolaiv Region, Y. Antohiy⁴, Nadia Tomiuk¹

¹ Шульга І. Третій людомор. *Шульга І. Людомор на Поділлі: (до 60-річчя голодомору)*. Київ: Республіканська асоціація українознавців, 1993. С. 179.

² Андрухів І. Голод 1946–1947 рр. у західних областях УРСР (на матеріалах Станіславської області). *Краєзнавство*. 2010. № 4. С. 161–168.

³ Горбунов К. С., Горбунов Є. Г., Левченко Л. Л., Климова Л. С. Голод 196–1947 років на Миколаївщині. Мовою архівних документів. Миколаїв: Видавець Шамрай П. М., 2010. 300 с.

⁴ Антохій Й. З історії голодомору 1946–1947 року на Буковині. *Пам'яті жертв радянських голодоморів в Україні: Матеріали наукової конференції (м. Чернівці, 24 вересня 1993 р.)*. Чернівці, 1994.

– in the Bukovyna Region, Konstantyn Pelivan² – in Southern Bessarabia, Oleksandr Mykhailov³, Iryna Tatarko⁴, Viacheslav and Halyna Hordienko⁵ – in the Izmail Region, Mykola Bryvka⁶, Oleksandr Zadniprovskiy⁷ – in Donetsk region, and others. Therefore, highlighting the issue of famine in Volyn and popularizing the research findings in scientific and popular science literature fully corresponds to the leading trend in modern historical studies.

Fundamental works published in communist regime times, for example “*History of cities and villages of the Ukrainian SSR. Volyn region*”⁸, focused on the information about the course of collectivization, the training of machine operators, farmers, and vegetable-growers dur-

¹ Томюк Н. Чернівецька область під час голоду 1946–1947 рр. *III Дунайські наукові читання: Голод 1946–1947 рр.: історичні, філософсько-психологічні та педагогічні аспекти*: Матеріали міжнародної науково-практичної конференції (м. Ізмаїл, 18–19 травня 2017 р.). Ізмаїл: РВВ ІДГУ, “СМИЛ”, 2017. С. 267–271.

² Пеливан К. К. Голод 1946–1947 гг. в Южной Бессарабии: Арцизский район Одесской области. Арциз: Диамант, 2008. 208 с.

³ Михайлов О. Ізмаїльщина під час голоду 1946–1947 рр. *III Дунайські наукові читання: Голод 1946–1947 рр.: історичні, філософсько-психологічні та педагогічні аспекти*: Матеріали міжнародної науково-практичної конференції (м. Ізмаїл, 18–19 травня 2017 р.). Ізмаїл: РВВ ІДГУ, “СМИЛ”, 2017. С. 145–151.

⁴ Татарко І. Голод 1946–1947 рр. в болгарських селах Ізмаїльської області УСРС. *III Дунайські наукові читання: Голод 1946–1947 рр.: історичні, філософсько-психологічні та педагогічні аспекти*: Матеріали міжнародної науково-практичної конференції (м. Ізмаїл, 18–19 травня 2017 р.). Ізмаїл: РВВ ІДГУ, “СМИЛ”, 2017. С. 256–263.

⁵ Гордієнко В., Гордієнко Г. Діти в Ізмаїльській області під час голоду 1946–1947 рр. *Емінак*. 2018. № 2 (22). Т. 1. С. 72–80.

⁶ Бривко М. В. Голод 1946–1947 рр. на Донеччині (регіональні особливості). *Голод в Україні у першій половині ХХ століття: причини та наслідки (1921–1923, 1932–1933, 1946–1947)*: Матеріали міжнародної наукової конференції (м. Київ, 20–21 листопада 2013 р.). Київ: Інститут історії України НАН України, 2013. С. 19–26.

⁷ Задніпровський О. І. Хроніка голоду 1946–1947 років на Донбасі. Донецьк: Східний видавничий дім, 2007. 372 с.

⁸ Історія міст і сіл Української РСР. Волинська область / гол. гол. ред. кол.: Тронько П. Т. (гол. заг. редкол.) та ін. Київ: Головна редакція УРЕ АН УРСР, 1970. С. 39–42.

ing 1946–1947, as well as the development of MTS. However, they do not contain any mention of famine in the post-war years, neither in the “*Essay on the History of the Volyn Regional Party Organization*”¹ nor in *The General History of Volyn* – only some statements of economic backwardness, difficulties of reconstruction, emphasizing the importance of 1946–1947 for the development of the collective farm movement.

Even in the three-volume work “*The Book of Memory of Ukraine. Volyn region*”, published after declaration of independence in Ukraine, this event was omitted or even completely ignored². In 2010, the regional editorial board “Rehabilitated by history. Volyn Region” initiated a series of books revealing the facts of Soviet political repressions. The first chapter of *Book I* highlights the consequences of Stalinism in Volyn in 1944–1953³, which, albeit indirectly, reproduces the background of the postwar famine.

The first mention of the post-war famine is recorded in the collective monograph on the history of the peasantry, published in 1988⁴. In Ukraine, a relatively large number of publications on the issue under study appeared in 1990. Our study has revealed that information about the famine in the territory of Volyn first appeared in 1989. The author

¹ Нариси історії Волинської обласної партійної організації. Київ: Політвидав України, 1968. С. 101–152; Нариси історії Волинської обласної партійної організації. Вид. 2-е, перероб. і доп. Львів: Видавництво “Каменярь”, 1981. С. 98–137.

² Книга пам’яті України. Волинська область / ред. І. О. Герасимов. Львів: Каменярь, 1995. Т. 1: м. Луцьк, Володимир-Волинський район, Горохівський район, Іваничівський район, Камінь-Каширський район, Ківерцівський район. 567 с.; Т. 2: Ковельський район, Локачинський район, Любешівський район, Любомльський район, Маневицький район. 647 с.; Т. 3: Ратнівський район, Рожищенський район, Старовижівський район, Турійський район, Старовижівський район, Турійський район, Шацький район. 487 с.

³ Реабілітовані історією: У двадцяти семи томах. Волинська область / головна редколегія: (голова – П. Т. Тронько, заступники голови – О. П. Реєнт, С. А. Кокін та ін.); редколегія тому (голова – О. І. Курилюк, відповідальний секретар – М. М. Кучерепа). Кн. 1. Луцьк: ВАТ “Волинська обласна друкарня”, 2010. С. 76–93.

⁴ История советского крестьянства. В 5 т. Т. 4: Крестьянство в годы упрочения и развития социалистического общества, 1945 – конец 50-х гг. Москва: Наука, 1988. С. 182–183.

rightly wrote then: “And how many people did the residents of Volyn help to survive and escape death from famine in those cold post-war summers? No one has ever recorded such facts or kept any statistics”¹.

Hryhorii Hurtovyi² was one of the first in Volyn to popularize the theme of the famine of 1946–1947. He came to Volyn from Zaporizhzhia searching for food for his family and stayed here, being attached to Volyn with all his heart. He not only informed the public about those terrible years³, but also appealed to the authorities with initiatives to honor those residents of the region who helped the easterners to survive in 1946–1947⁴, having saved them from starvation. There were many people like Hryhorii Hurtovyi. The testimonies of Liubov Demianyk⁵, R. Matsiuk⁶, V. Polishchuk⁷, Petro Potapenko⁸, and Ivan Pushkarenko⁹ confirm this.

Discussing the post-war famine in Volyn, one cannot fail to mention the name of the People’s Deputy of Ukraine of the 1st convocation, an honorary resident of the city of Lutsk, and a journalist, Andrii Bondarchuk. It is essential to point out that Andrii Bondarchuk’s interest in the topic of the famine of 1946–1947 was determined by three

¹ Мандзюк Ф. Голод після війни. *Радянська Волинь*. 1989. 22 січня (№ 16), С. 3–4; Мандзюк Ф. Сестра руку подала. *Молодь України*. 1989. 8 червня.

² Гуртовий Г. Голодна зима 1947-го: Слово подяки волинянам. *Волинь*. 1996. 29 лютого; Гуртовий Г. Подвиг милосердя волинян. *Слава праці*. 1997. 26 квітня.

³ Гуртовий Г. Свічка скорботи, пам’яті: Спогади і роздуми свідка голодоморів 1933–1947 років. *Слава праці*. 2007. 24 листопада.

⁴ Гуртовий Г. Увічнимо подвиг милосердя людського. *Народне слово*. 1997. 12 квітня.

⁵ Дем’яник Л. Бережімо пам’ять роду, бо лише так зможемо зберегти національну пам’ять нашого народу. *Полісся*. 2017. 18 лютого (№ 12). С. 6.

⁶ Мацюк Р. Голод гнав на Волинь. *Наш край*. 2017. 23 листопада. С. 1.

⁷ Поліщук В. Приїхали. І Приросли до польського краю. *Минуле і сучасне Волині та Полісся*. Вип. 68: Любешівщина в історії України і Волині: 68-а Всеукр. наук. істор.-краєзн. конф. (сmt. Любешів, 18-19 вересня 2020 р.) / упоряд. Г. Бондаренко та ін. Луцьк: Іванюк В. П., 2020. С. 380–383.

⁸ Потапенко П. У сіль макали пальці і смоктали... *Волинь-нова*. 2015. 28 листопада (№ 131). С. 6.

⁹ Марценюк П. Іван Пушкаренко: “Волинь зігріла й приголубила”. *До світня зоря*. 1997. 14 серпня.

factors: firstly, his own experience of starvation (he was born on December 12, 1936, in the village of Serehovychi in Volyn); secondly, communication with the well-known researcher of the Holodomor of 1932–1933, James Mace; and, thirdly, his personal disapproval of the policy of silencing the post-war tragedy by the authorities. The holding of the All-Ukrainian scientific conference “*Holodomor in Ukraine of 1946–1947: causes, course, consequences. Western Ukraine in the context of the Holodomor*” is connected with his name¹. The book “*Holodomor in Ukraine in 1946–1947: Unpunished Crime, Forgotten Good*” authored and edited by Andrii Bondarchuk, also became a landmark for the studies of the famine of 1946–1947 in Volyn. The book has received general public resonance². The published materials are of great scientific importance, in particular, a wide range of memoirs that have entered scientific circulation thanks to these publications. Andrii Bondarchuk made a lot of efforts to popularize the topic of the post-war famine and the sacrifice of the Volynians among his contem-

¹ Минуле і сучасне Волині та Полісся. Вип. 59: Голодомор в Україні 1946–1947 років: причини, перебіг, наслідки. Західна Україна в контексті голодомору: Матеріали Всеукраїнської наук. конф., приуроченої 70-річчю трагедії українського народу – голодомору 1946–1947 років (м. Луцьк, 25–26 листопада 2016 р.) / упоряд. А. Бондарчук. А. Силук. Луцьк, 2016. 202 с.

² Бондарчук А. Їхнє життя згасло. А голоси живуть... *Голос України*. 2020. 28 листопада (№ 221). С. 14–15; Бондарчук А. Рік новий добром засіваймо. *Волинь*. 2019. 17 січня (№ 4). С. 1; Горох М., Демченко Т. Україна. Голодомор 1946–1947 років: непокараний злочин, забуте добро / Упорядник-автор А. Бондарчук. Київ: Орієнтир, Видавець ФОП Мельник М. Ю., 2017 (рец.). *Сіверянський літопис*. 2018. № 1–2. С. 402–403; Ковальчук Н. Спогади про голодомор оживають з виставки музею. *Сільські новини*. 2018. 24 листопада. С. 3; Пишняк К. Сестричка кудись пропала. І мама одразу подумала, що з'їли. *Волинь-нова*. 2018. 22 листопада (№ 41). С. 4; Про книгу знатиме світ. *Слово Просвіти*. 2018. 9–15 серпня (№ 32). С. 3; Свєреда Т. Пам'ятник моральному подвигу населення Західної України, яке прихистило голодуючих. *Луцький замок*. 2018. 15 березня (№ 9). С. 12; Семистяга В. Забуттю не підлягає. *Слово Просвіти*. 2018. 17–23 травня (№ 20). С. 2; Сидоренко Б. Книга про тихий подвиг: “Україна Голодомор 1946–1947 років: непокараний злочин забуте добро”. *Голос України*. 2020. 13 червня; Цю книгу знатиме весь світ. *Вільним шляхом*. 2018. 6 жовтня. С. 6; Цю книгу знатиме світ. *Слово Просвіти*. 2018. 9–15 серпня (№ 32). С. 3.

poraries¹. Andrii Bondarchuk's words sound prophetic: "The presence of the book about the *"Famine in Ukraine in 1946–1947"* in the Library of Ukrainian Literature in Moscow was considered a threat to the state, and the director of the library, Natalia Sharyna, was imprisoned. It is probably about the book by Oleksandra M. Veselova, a scientist who devoted her life to researching the famine-killing topic and the UPA insurgent movement, although she was from Dniprodzerzhynsk. She knew from her own experience what the Holodomor was like. Indeed, the truth of history is a powerful weapon in the fight against any enemy. In our time, it is a fight against Russian imperialism "Russkiy mir". Don't the roots of the Donbas' problems lie in the fact that even under independent Ukraine the authorities have done nothing to use the truth of history to neutralize the consciousness of people in this international region, the consciousness that was poisoned by communist-imperialist propaganda?"².

It is also worth noting that in the 1990s, students of Chernihiv and Dnipropetrovsk universities, and the activists of the Association of Holodomor Researchers in Ukraine, collected basic materials about the famine of 1946–1947. Oleksandra Veselova carried out the systematic arrangement of those materials, and after her death in 1995, her husband, Vitalii Veselov, continued her activity. When the collected materials were ready for editorial arrangement, the author of the work "Unpunished Crime, Forgotten Good" (about the famine in 1945–1947), Andrii Bondarchuk, joined the project and involved the Academy of Sciences and the Institute of the History of Ukraine in the project. He invited Vasyl Marochko to be the publication's editor and turned to the Research Foundation named after Oleh Olzhych in the USA to help with funds. The publisher managed to publish only 416 copies of the collection for the funds allocated by the Foundation (\$4,000) – an insufficient number of copies for Ukraine.

The issue of the role of Volynians in rescuing the inhabitants of Eastern and Central Ukraine is widely presented in the literature. The

¹ Бондарчук А. Волинь повоенна: імпортований голод. *Волинь-нова*. 2018. 20 вересня (№ 24). С. 13; Бондарчук А. Забутий голодомор, забуте милосердя. *Селянське життя*. 2016. 4 червня. С. 3.

² Бондарчук А. Не будьмо безмовними... Голодомор 1946–1947 років – на всеукраїнському рівні недорозкрита тема. *День*. 2017. 3–4 березня (№ 38–39). С. 12.

famine of 1946–1947 did not reach such catastrophic proportions in the Western Ukrainian lands and the people from the East, driven by famine, sought salvation in the western regions. Among the fundamental case studies, it is worth mentioning the research and testimony of Nadia Banada¹, A. Bondarchuk², O. Brenchuk³, Nina Heiko⁴, O. Dudiuk⁵, O. Danylyshyn⁶, O. Kondratovych⁷, Nina Romaniuk⁸, Vira Riabko⁹, Ustymchuk¹⁰, V. Fedchuk¹¹, Ya. Tsaruk¹, V. Shtynko²,

¹ Банада Н. Доросинівці рятували від голоду східняків. *Волинська газета*. 2022. 7 липня (№ 27). С. 4; Банада Н. Катруся з Вінничини. *Волинська газета*. 2016. 29 грудня (№ 51). С. 10.

² Бондарчук А. “Раз добром нагріте серце” озвалось через 70 літ. *Волинь-нова*. 2017. 11 травня. С. 7; Бондарчук А. Чи увійде в історію моральний подвиг західняків?: як на Волині рятували голодуючих у 1946–1947 рр. *День*. 2016. 18–19 листопада. С. 20; 2–3 грудня. С. 20; Бондарчук А. Чи ввійде в історію моральний подвиг західняків?: роздуми з приводу сумного ювілею – 70-ліття Голодомору 1946–1947 років. *Волинь-нова*. 2016. 27 жовтня. С. 2, 29 жовтня. С. 9; Бондарчук А. Чи ввійде в історію моральний подвиг західняків? *Волинський музейний вісник*. 2016. Вип. 8. С. 111–115.

³ Бренчук О. Як у Любешові добували зерно для голодуючих. *Волинь-нова*. 2009. 3 грудня. С. 10.

⁴ Занюк Л. “Вклоняюсь пам’яті горохівчанина, який урятував пораненого вчителя”. *Волинь-нова*. 2017. 27 липня. С. 9.

⁵ Дудюк О. “Я вклоняюсь Західній Україні. *Селянське життя*. 2005. 10 вересня.

⁶ Мацюк Р. Голод гнав на Волинь. *Наш край*. 2017. 23 листопада. С. 1.

⁷ Кондратович О. Голод 1946–1947 років у спогадах голодної дитини. *Полісся*. 2016. 3 грудня.

⁸ Романюк Н. Про любов не принесену на дулах танків... *Україна молода*. 2016. 14 грудня. С. 8. [спогади очевидців про голод 1946–1947 рр. та волинян, які рятували голодуючих]

⁹ Рябко В. Віддала останній вузлик. *Волинь-нова*. 2015. 28 листопада (№ 131). С. 6.

¹⁰ Устимчук Р. Голодомори як наука спротиву. *Волинська газета*. 2014. 27 листопада. С. 7.

¹¹ Федчук В. “Наші двері майже не зачинялися”: як західняки-“бандерівці” рятували від голоду східняків. *День*. 2014. 23–24 травня. С. 12; Федчук В. “Наші двері майже не зачинялися...”: Як західняки-“бандерівці” рятували від голоду східняків. *Наш край*. 2016. 24 листопада. С. 3.

L. Chorna³, and others⁴. These testimonies correlate with the picture depicted by Iliia Shulga: “Thousands of beggars, wage-earners walked around in 1946–1947 in the cities and villages of Western Ukraine. They could be met on the territory of Ternopil, Volyn, Lviv, and other western regions of Ukraine. The local population sympathized with their compatriots and shared bread and salt. Unfortunately, many have forgotten their saviors”.

The stereotype that still lives in a part of Ukrainian society regarding the attitude to Western Ukraine is a result of the higher authorities’ policy of silencing the Holodomor of 1946–47, especially facts of the moral feat of local residents. Therefore, the study of this topic by historians, particularly Volyn historians, is of great scientific and social significance.

The works analyzed and mentioned in the article undoubtedly will enrich the historiographical foundations of the issue, prove its depth, and, at the same time, highlight the need for further study of the famine of 1946–1947. The historical studies devoted to the famine of 1946–1947 in Volyn are scarce so far. In conclusion, we assert that the provided in the article historiographical analysis showed that the post-war famine, its components, the regional dimension, the historical memory of these events, and other related issues require further research and development.

Oksana Kalishchuk

¹ Царук Я. Через 5 років голод прийшов і до нас... *Волинь-нова*. 2014. 22 листопада. С. 4.

² Штинько В. Як я, мамо, виросту, то спечу Вам велику хлібину...: Західна Україна у 1946–1947 роках надала допомогу не менше 6 мільйонам голодуючих. *Волинь-нова*. 2018. 8 лютого (№10). С. 1, 8–9.

³ Чорна Л. Від голоду люди рятувалися, тікаючи на Волинь. *Володимир вечірній*. 2006. 23 листопада. С. 4.

⁴ Бандерівський край врятував Україну від голоду. *Волинь-нова*. 2014. 22 листопада. С. 1, 4–5; Бондарук А. Бандерівський край врятував Україну від голоду. *Волинь-нова*. 2014. 5 червня. С. 5; 7 червня. С. 6, 12 червня. С. 8.

TEMPERING THE ASCETIC SPIRIT OF FATHER JURIY YANTUKH VIA POLITICAL REPRESSION OF THE SOVIET TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM

Certain trials and difficulties fall on the fate of every person in his earthly life, overcoming which he becomes more hardened and more persistent in the fight for his ideals and beliefs. Formed in a certain environment, a person throughout his life tries to transfer his ideals into reality, but when faced with obstacles, he tries to overcome them, but does not change his established views and beliefs. Such a solid pillar of Ukrainian religious identity was the Basilian monasticism, which, despite the horrors of the First and Second World Wars, tried to preserve its spiritual formation, despite persecution, arrests, and exile. One of these figures was the hieromonk Yuriy (real name Ivan) Yantukh, who was arrested and imprisoned three times and, after surviving exile, contributed to the revival of the Basilian Order in independent Ukraine. The ascetic work of such personalities deserves respect and is a good example for the modern generation of monasticism, which in the latest realities of the Russian-Ukrainian war continues to fight on the religious front.

The figure chosen by us was not the subject of a special study. Individual researchers, studying the history of the Basilian Order and the tragic fate of the Greek-Catholic clergy, pay attention to the famous figures of the Galician province¹. The chosen figure of Fr. Yuriy Yantukh remains unresearched in Ukrainian church historiography because, for a long time, the criminal case remained inaccessible in the archives of the KGB (SBU)². Today, there is an opportunity to process

¹ Ваврик М. По василянських монастирях. Торонто: В-во. Отців-василян, 1958. 286 с.; Патрило І. Нарис історії Галицької Провінції ЧСВВ. *Записки ЧСВВ* Рим: В-во отців-василян, 1992. Сер. II. Сек. I. Т. 48. С. 301–382; Прах Б. Духовенство Перемиської єпархії та Апостольської адміністрації Лемківщини: у 2-х томах. Львів: В-во УКУ, 2015. Т. II. С. 739, 825–827; Стасів К. Чернеча офіра Христові й Вітчизні. Жовква: Місіонер, 2018. 518 с.

² Ваврик М. По василянських монастирях. Торонто: В-во. Отців-василян, 1958. 286 с.; Патрило І. Нарис історії Галицької Провінції ЧСВВ. *Записки ЧСВВ* Рим: В-во отців-василян, 1992. Сер. II. Сек. I. Т. 48. С. 301–382; Прах Б. Духовенство Перемиської єпархії та Апостольської адміністрації Лемківщини: у 2-х томах. Львів: В-во УКУ, 2015. Т. II. С. 739, 825–827;

these materials and introduce them to wide scientific circulation. The general documents on the liquidation of the UGCC and OSBG were partially introduced into scientific circulation, where we find fragmentary references to the figure in question¹. Certain personalized information can be found in the catalogs of the Basilian monasticism of the Galician province of OSBG². The outlined historiographic and source array of information allows a comprehensive review of the activities of Hieromonk Yuriy and the circumstances of his arrests, trial, and imprisonment.

We aim to add biographical information about Fr. Yuriy (Ivan) Yantukh with information about the progress of the judicial investigation and his unyielding religious outlook.

Ivan (in monasticism Yuriy) was born on January 19, 1910, in the village of Sokoly, Busk district, Lviv region. He had no professional education but was a student of accounting courses in Lviv and received a theological education, non-party, not convicted, and came from a peasant family (middle peasants). He did not take part in the military events of the Second World War. During the German occupation, he lived in the Zhovkva monastery³.

From 1922 to 1929, he studied at the gymnasium in the city of Kamianka-Strumyl'ova (the modern territory of the Lviv region). From the seventh grade, he began studying to become a priest at the Krehiv monastery (Zhovkiv district, Lviv region). From 1930–1932, he continued his studies at Lavriv Monastery. Later, he was sent to Dobromyl' monastery, where he also continued his studies until 1934. To complete the full course of study, he was sent to Krystynopil monastery, where the theological seminary operated, where he graduated in 1938. Having obtained the priesthood, he was assigned to Zhovkva monastery, where he served until the spring of 1939. From the middle of 1939 to 1942, he served at Krystynopil Basilian Monastery, where,

Стасів К. Чернеча офіра Христові й Вітчизні. Жовква: Місіонер, 2018. 518 с.

¹ Отець Юрій Іван Янтух, ЧСВВ. *Василіянський Вісник*, Рим 1993–1994. Ч. 21. С. 97–98.

² *Catalogus Ordinis Basiliani Sancti Josaphat provinciae Haliciensis SS. Salvatoris ineunte anno 1939*, Leopoldis, 1939, n. 46; *Catalogus Ordinis Basiliani Sancti Josaphat provinciae Haliciensis SS. Salvatoris ineunte anno 1940–1941*. Leopoldis, 1943. N. 47.

³ АУСБУ ЛО. Спр. 11708. Арк. 1.

along with pastoral work, he was involved in economic matters. In 1942, he was sent to Zhovkva monastery, where he was engaged in economic affairs. In March 1945, he was transferred to Yavoriv to serve the local women's monastery of the Basilian sisters. In 1945, he was offered to convert to the Orthodox faith, and he categorically refused this offer. He continued to conduct services as a Greek Catholic priest. Came to Lviv in 1945 to Fr. Bodretskyi to resolve the issue of further spiritual service, who was advised to go to the monastery in the village of Nizhnye Vysotske (Boryn' district of Drohobych region), where he agreed to go for service. In Nizhne Vysotske, he conducted services for the Basilian sisters until January 1948.

In January 1948, he was arrested by the MGB department of Drohobych region and was under investigation for 15 days, and was released. He was arrested on suspicion of allegedly living under false documents. After his release from arrest in February 1948, he went to Lviv, where he went to study accounting courses. In October 1948, he transferred to the school of accountants, where he continued his studies until the time of his second arrest (March 18, 1949)¹.

Father – Yantukh Mykola Panteleimonovych at the age of 73 lived in the village of Sokoly of Busk district, which is engaged in agriculture. Mother – Yantukh Teklia, 70 years old, lives with the father. Brother – Yantukh Mykhailo Mykolaiovych, born in 1906, lives in the village of Sokoly, and is the head of a collective farm. He was wounded at the front during the war. Brother – Yantukh Yosyph Mykolayovych, born in 1918, lived in the village of Goshiv, Stanislav region, after being expelled from the monastery. The sister, Anastasia Mykolaivna Kozak, aged 50, who lives in the village of Sokoly in Buska district and works on a collective farm. The sister's husband is Andrii Mykhailovych Kozak, killed in 1941, by whom and for what reason is unknown. The sister's daughter – Kozak Yaroslava Andriivna, aged approximately 20, lived in the village Sokoly works on a collective farm. The sister's son, Kozak Ivan Andriiovych, aged 15-16, lives with his mother. Khmil Anna Mykolayivna, aged 48, lives in the village of Sokoly and works on a collective farm. His sister's husband, Mykhailo Khmil, left for Canada in 1925².

¹ Там само. Арк. 18.

² Там само. Арк. 19.

Ivan Yantukh joined the Basilian Order on March 17, 1929, and made his first monastic vows on November 1, 1930, and his lifelong profession on May 21, 1936. Priestly ordination was granted on July 10, 1938¹.

Father Yuriy Yantukh, after his ordination, pastored in Zhovkva and Krystynopil. World War II caught him there. During the German occupation, for some time he served a mission village in Kholm region, in Hrabivka, from which the Polish government expelled Fr. Dorothei Syroid (OSBG). The bishop of Lublin appointed a Belarusian priest to Grabivtsi, but the local population was not in favor of him. After the dissatisfaction of the believers, the Polish Ordinariate ordered Fr. Yuriy Yantukh to conduct pastoral work at the parish in Grabivtsi. However, due to certain inconveniences, he returned to Krystynopil and saved the difficult state of the monastery: the entire monastery field and filvarok remained under Soviet occupation, and the monastery premises went to Germany. As a result, there was no provision for the maintenance of the inhabitants of the monastery. Father Yuriy went around the villages and collected enough to last a long time. Later, the German troops withdrew to the west, and Krystynopil passed to Poland. Polish authorities evicted Ukrainians and settled Polish immigrants in their place. Subsequently, the Krystynopil monastery itself was liquidated (1946). After that, Fr. Yuriy moved to the territory of the Soviet Union: to Zhovkva, and then to Yavorov, to the Basilian Sisters. He was imprisoned for the first time in 1948: he was held in prison for two weeks. In 1949, he went to prison for the second time and spent two months in the Lviv Prison on Lontsky Street. In the same year, he was caught for the third time for baptizing children. As a result, he was taken to Siberia. He worked at various jobs until Khrushchev's time when they audited the cases of those convicted and deported without trial. Then Fr. Yuriy was able to return to his native land. Although he could not pastor openly, he conducted religious services secretly.

In 1990, he had been proving services in front of the church in Zhovkva for 9 months, seeking the way to return the monastery to Basilian monasticism. He died on October 30, 1993, in Zhovkva, where he is buried at the local monastic cemetery².

¹ *Catalogus Ordinis Basiliani Sancti Josaphat provinciae Haliciensis SS. Salvatoris ineunte anno 1939, Leopoldis, 1939, n. 46.*

² *Отець Юрій Іван Янтух, ЧСВВ. Василянський Вісник. Рим 1993–1994, Ч. 21. С. 97–98.*

A verbal portrait of Fr. Yuriy Yantuh: medium height (165–170 cm), medium figure, shoulders – down, neck – short, hair color – dark blond, eye color – blue, face – oval, forehead – high, eyebrows – straight, nose – small, the mouth – small, the lips – thin, the chin – slanted, the ears – small. Special signs and habits – absent¹.

Captain Bryukhanov, the senior investigator of the UNKDB of Lviv region, reviewed the collected materials about the activities of Yantukh Ivan Mykolaiovych and noted that the suspect was hostile to the Soviet authorities. Being a zealous Catholic at the time of the reunification of the Greek Catholic Church with the Orthodox Church, living first in the city of Lviv, and later in the monastery in the village of Nizhnye Vysotske, Boryn district, Drohobych region, publicly spoke in church with sharp criticism of Orthodoxy in defense of Catholicism and urged Greek Catholics not to reunite with the Orthodox Church. Conducting anti-Soviet work against Orthodoxy, Fr. Yuriy Yantukh managed to convert two priests of Drohobych region from Orthodoxy to Catholicism².

Father Yuriy stayed in the Nizhnyi Vysotsk monastery for two years (1946–1947), hiding from the punitive bodies of the Soviet authorities in a storage room specially arranged by him in the kitchen of the monastery.

In 1948, he moved to Lviv, where he enrolled in accounting courses. Living in Lviv, Fr. Yuriy continued to hold Greek Catholic services in the private apartments of believers illegally, and one of them was dedicated to Ukrainian nationalists.

The anti-Soviet activities of Yu. Yantukh was confirmed by the testimony of E. S. Andrievska, A. G. Iznychak, and E. F. Pogramichna. Based on the above, a resolution was adopted on the arrest and search of Yantukh Ivan Mykolayovych, who lived in Lviv, Karmelyuk Street, 9, apartment number 3³.

The investigator stated (on March 17, 1949) that Yantukh I. is suspected of the crimes provided for in Articles 54-10 Part 2 of the Criminal Code of the USSR and taking into account that he can evade the investigation and the court, guided by articles 143 and 156 of the CPC of the USSR decided to choose the measure of restriction of freedom

¹ АУСБУ ЛЮ. Спр. 11708. Арк. 2.

² Там само. Арк. 1.

³ Там само. Арк. 3.

and methods of evading the investigation and the court to choose detention for Yantukh I., which is provided for in Article 144 of the CPC of the USSR to be announced to the arrested under a receipt. Copies of the resolution have been sent to the prosecutor and the head of the prison to add to the personal prison file. The next day, the prosecutor issued a warrant for the search and arrest of the suspect. During the search of the apartment of Fr. Yuriy's passport, military ID, certificate, and nationalist literature were found¹.

During the first arrest and interrogation (February 4, 1949), he reported that after the arrival of the Red Army, until approximately February-March 1945, he continued to live in the town of Zhovkva, where he continued to be responsible for running the monastery. In February-March 1945, he moved to the city of Yavoriv, Lviv region, where until the fall of the same year he lived in the monastery of the Basilian sisters and worked in the apiary belonging to the mentioned monastery. At the same time, he was a priest in the monastery church. In the fall of 1945, he moved to the village of Nyzhnye Vysotske, Boryn' district, Drohobych region, where he lived for more than two years, that is, until February 1948, where he lived in the house of the Basilian sisters and did not work anywhere. Around January 1948, he was detained by the employees of the Drohobych regional office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for the fact that he was living without a residence permit. He stayed there for two weeks and then was released and immediately moved to live in the city of Lviv, where he enrolled in accounting courses and studied until the time of his arrest (March 18, 1949)².

On March 28, 1949, the arrested Fr. Yuriy Yantukh is accused of being hostile to the Soviet government, criticizing Orthodoxy and supporting Catholicism³.

During the interrogations, he told the reason for his first arrest, which, according to Yantukh Yu., was the refusal to convert to Orthodoxy. He moved to Nizhnye Vysotske, where he lived illegally since he was not sent here officially, but arrived voluntarily (he was not as an officially sent priest). At the same time, his way of life at that time could not but arouse suspicion, since he was always in the monastery building and did not show himself to people. When one of

¹ Там само. Арк. 1.

² Там само. Арк. 16.

³ Там само. Арк. 25.

the residents entered the monastery, he tried to avoid meeting them. In the first days of his stay in Nizhnye Vysotske, he conducted services for the nuns, and after the arrest of the local priest, he began to hide, as he did not have official permission for liturgical activities from the Soviet authorities. Realizing that this kind of activity was illegal, he decided to refuse to hold religious services. But since the local peasants could continue to turn to him with a request to conduct services for them in the future, he warned the nuns to say that Fr. Yuriy left the village, and at that time he stayed in their house and did not show himself to anyone. Someone reported this to the MGB authorities and he was arrested as a suspicious person. During the first investigation (January 1948), Fr. Yuriy was accused of having fake documents. The investigator was also interested in his connections with the OUN underground.

However, since his documents were not fictitious and his connections with the nationalist underground were not revealed, he was released from detention after 15 days. After his release, he went to his brother Mykhailo in the village Sokoly of Busk district, agreed with him that he would help him if possible since he intended to go to study in the city of Lviv. A week later, he went to Lviv, where he started studying accounting courses. Later, he went on to study at an accounting school. In Lviv, he lived in the apartment of citizen Monastyrskiy on Karmelyuk Street, 9, apartment 3.

Monastyrskiy Vitold, approximately 74 years old, Ukrainian, geologist engineer by profession, worked at the Academy of Sciences, had a wife, Maria, aged 75, and a daughter, Olga Savytska, an artist by profession, who worked in Lviv in her specialty, and her husband worked as an engineer in Stanislav region, but she did not live with him. Acquaintance with Fr. Yuriy and Monastyrskiy happened purely by chance under the following circumstances. When he arrived in Lviv in February 1948 and had no acquaintances where he could stay, he was forced to walk around the city in search of an apartment. In such a situation, he was advised to go to Monastyrskiy at 9 Karmelyuk street, apartment 3. The Monastyrsky family agreed to take Fr. Yuriy for an apartment. Periodically the apartment of Fr. Yuriy's relatives came from the village of Sokoly: a father, sister Anastasia Kozak, brother Mykhailo, his wife, and their daughter Grozytska Khrystyna from the

city of Kamianka. Their arrivals were connected with bringing Fr. Yuriy food from home¹.

In addition, in the summer of 1948, a teacher from the village of Nizhnye Vysotske came to Lviv for a doctor's examination, Andrievska, who lived for two days in the village of Yuriy in the apartment. He said that he did not know where she found out about this address and whether she knew Monastyrskiyi. Father Yuriy was not well acquainted with this teacher but had seen her several times in the village Nizhne Vysotske. She came to Lviv for the second time on March 12, 1949, and went to visit her father at his apartment, but this time he could not talk to her, because at that time MDB officers were in Monastyrskiyi's house and arrested her.

Periodically in the apartment of Fr. Yuriy was a student at the accounting school of Izynchak Angelina (monastic name Maria), whom he had known since he lived at the nunnery in Nizhnye Vysotske. She came for notes or literature that was used at school. According to the same reasons, Fr. Yuriy visited her home².

On March 15, 1949, an interrogation of the witness Andrievska Kateryna Stepanivna, born in 1913, in the village of Voroblevychi, Medenychi district, Lviv region, Ukrainian, from poor peasants, non-party, a citizen of the USSR, unmarried, a Basilian sister who worked as a teacher in the village of Nizhnye Vysotskye, Boryn' District, Drogobych region, not convicted until the time of arrest, detained in Lviv at Karmelyuk Street, 9, in the apartment of the engineer Monastyrskiyi, lived in the school of the village of Nizhnye Vysotskye Boryn' District.

During the interrogation, she said that she had come to Lviv to establish information about Fr. Yuriy Yantukh, as information spread that he was arrested by punitive bodies of the Soviet authorities. She reported that Angelina Iznychak (monastic name Maria) was once the abbess of the monastery of the Basilian sisters in Nizhnye Vysotske. She was also questioned as a witness in the case of Fr. Yuriy Yantukh. She reported that Fr. Yuriy lived in a separate cell next to the kitchen. He sat in his cell all the time and went out to the yard in the evenings only for natural needs. For a year and a half, he dug a hiding place under the bed in the kitchen, one and a half meters deep. He converted

¹ Там само. Арк. 27–28.

² Там само. Арк. 29.

from Orthodoxy to Catholicism the priest Orest Tustanovych from the village of Komarnyky and Zinkevych from the village of Nizhnye Vysotske. She visited Yantukh three times during 1948–1949 to deliver products from the Basilian sisters, as well as to receive advice in solving their spiritual problems and to convey requests from people who asked to pray for their intentions¹.

As the second witness in the case of Fr. Yuriy was Iznychak Angelina (Mary in the monastic order) from 1942 she was the abbess of Yavoriv Monastery of the Basilian Sisters until its closure in 1945. After that, she moved to the Basilian Sisters in Nizhnye Vysotske and lived there until the beginning of 1948, because she broke her arm and moved to Lviv for treatment and stayed for permanent residence. She enrolled in accounting courses.

She arrived in Lviv in January 1948. In August 1948, she enrolled in accounting courses. From January to July 1948, she treated a broken arm and then went to tailoring courses. But due to the pain in her arm, she could not acquire practical skills, so in August 1948, she switched to accounting courses, which were paid. She was helped by nuns from Yavoriv and Nizhnye Vysotske. They brought her food and money. They helped her since she was the abbess before the closure of Yavoriv Monastery. They asked about the names of the nuns who helped her. They asked about the owner of the apartment in Lviv. It was Dutkevych Yevhenii Yevgeniovych, who was a priest before the war and retired due to his age. He had his own house and rented it out.

They asked about the purpose of visiting her apartment by Yuriy Yantukh. It was to obtain educational literature. He had conversations with Fr. Dudkevych. They ask if he served liturgies in the apartment and if she was present at them. She admitted that she was present at one service in the apartment of Fr. Yuriy Yantukh.

She reported that about his arrest in February 1949, Yuriy Yantukh told the nun Portukhai Maria, who was in the monastic order, who lived in the village of Nizhne Vysotske (Boryn' district, Drohobych region), by writing two letters to her (in the first one she informed about the arrest, and in the second one about her release).

They asked about the detailed content of these letters. She reported that she encrypted the information in the letters, for example, that Fr. Yuriy Yantukh fell ill and that we should pray for his recovery, and

¹ Там само. Арк. 34–35.

when he was dismissed, she wrote that he was already starting to get better and was going to classes without a ticket (without documents). The letters were written on behalf of sister Portukhai's niece, who studied in the 8th grade and lived in a dormitory in Lviv. Encrypted messages because she found out that her correspondence was being reread¹.

From the fall of 1946 to the beginning of 1948, Fr. Yuriy Yantukh was hiding in the female Greek Catholic monastery of the Basilian sisters in Nizhnye Vysotske. In 1947, he built a storage room for himself in the monastery kitchen in case the punitive bodies of the Soviet authorities came to the village. She reported that she did not know the reason why Fr. Yuriy Yantukh was hiding from the Soviet authorities. she only assumed that he opposed Orthodoxy and promoted Catholic dogmas, converted priests (Komarnytskyi, Tustanivskyi) from Orthodoxy to Catholicism².

On May 12, 1949, a resolution was adopted to divide the investigative case into two separate proceedings: 1) Yantukh Ivan Mykolayovych under Art. 54-10-2 CC; 2) Andrievska Kateryna Stepanivna according to Art. 54-10 part 1 and 54-12 of the Criminal Code of the USSR. Yantukh and Andrievska were brought under one investigative case. During the conducted investigation, their organizational ties to criminal acts were not established, therefore a decision was made to divide this case into two proceedings³.

On May 13, 1949, a resolution was adopted to dismiss Fr. Yuriy Yantukh, his documents and belongings were returned to him, and the investigation was suspended⁴. On May 18, 1949, he was released from custody. When he was released from the internal prison, the UNK of the Lviv region received the following documents: a certificate of release, a military ID, a passport, a student ID, and three different certificates⁵.

In September 1966, the prosecutor's office of Lviv region requested to provide the archive of the criminal case of Yury-Ivan Mykolayovych Yantukh to clarify the data. Subsequently, on November 17,

¹ Там само. Арк. 40–41.

² Там само. Арк. 42.

³ Там само. Арк. 51.

⁴ Там само. Арк. 53.

⁵ Там само. Арк. 58.

1966, the prosecutor's office of Lviv region returned the investigative case of Yuriy-Ivan Mykolayovych Yantukh to the accounting and archive department of the UKDB under the Council of Ministers of the USSR in Lviv region for further storage in the archive¹.

The realities of everyday life of the Basilian monasticism of Galicia in the first post-war years were full of anxiety, as the Soviet authorities persecuted the Greek-Catholic clergy, especially the monastics, who did not agree to convert to Russian Orthodoxy and persuaded the secular priests not to take such actions, but rather to create religious opposition against occupation authorities. A vivid example of such ascetic and unyielding work was the life path of the hieromonk Yuriy (Ivan) Yantukh, who, despite three arrests and imprisonment, and deportation to Siberia, managed to steadfastly persevere in his religious beliefs and survive the difficult conditions of exile and wait for the revival of the independent Ukrainian church and the state. His life became a symbol of the struggle for the preservation and revival of Ukrainian religious identity.

Yurii Stetsyk, Roman Dydyk

¹ Там само. Арк. 62–63.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AOSSU LR – Archive of the Office of the Security Service of Ukraine in the Lviv region

KGB (SSC) – KGB (State Security Committee)

CC USSR – Criminal Code of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

NKVD – People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs

Fr. – father

SSU – Security Service of Ukraine

St. – a saint

Art. – an article

UGCC – Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church

UNKDB – Office of the People's Commissariat of State Security

OSBG – Order of Saint Basil the Great

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